

THE TESSERA OF ANTILIA

— UTOPIAN BROTHERHOODS & —
SECRET SOCIETIES IN THE EARLY
— SEVENTEENTH CENTURY —



by

DONALD R. DICKSON

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*Utopian Brotherhoods & Secret Societies in
the Early Seventeenth Century*

BY

DONALD R. DICKSON



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*For Jayn and Madeline Dickson
always an inspiration*

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College Station, Texas

CHAPTER ONE

SECRET SOCIETIES, NATURAL MAGIC & THE HISTORIOGRAPHERS

For a *large* class of cases—though not for all—in which we employ the word “meaning” it can be defined thus: the meaning of a word is its use in the language. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*

At a time when Europe was in the throes of what has been called the crisis of the seventeenth century,¹ a movement for utopian Christian reform also flourished, sustained in part by the general despair. The networks of sympathetic individuals that sprang up across the Continent and into the American plantations are an expressive feature of this complex period. While scholars have acknowledged their existence, no one has examined in any detail their history or the extensive contact between continental and English utopian circles. Enough evidence from their correspondence, manifestos, and *leges societatis* survives to establish the existence of these brotherhoods at least as epistolary networks, even if their founders all had grander plans for their associations than may have been actualized. The reach of these men of letters extended beyond the life of the mind and into historic action in notable ways. They were tireless advocates of the reformation of learning Bacon had outlined, and their activities constitute a significant part of the intellectual turbulence of the age.

Two decades ago Charles Webster's *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* detailed the extraordinary efforts of Samuel Hartlib's circle to establish a Protestant millennium with science as the key to national prosperity, but only recently have others begun to credit these claims.² Hartlib's role as scientific en-

¹ H. R. Trevor Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

² Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975). The 1992 conference on Hartlib at the University of Sheffield, “Peace, Unification & Prosperity,” helped establish Hartlib's academic respectability;

trepreneur and facilitator had been undervalued, because historians typically marginalize natural magic and other forms of occult science: those like Hartlib and his circle who engaged in alchemy *ipso facto* could have played no role in the emergence of “genuine” science. Hartlib’s involvement with the movement to establish utopian brotherhoods as instruments of societal amelioration, a movement inspired by the writings of Johann Valentin Andreae, has not been widely credited for much the same reason: since these brotherhoods pursued alchemy as a means of financing their utopian goals and maintained secrecy—as much to protect their intellectual property rights as to prevent dissemination of their mysteries—they have been seen mostly as deluded empirics like the Canon’s Yeoman. Furthermore, by helping write two utopian manifestos, the *Fama fraternitatis* and *Confessio fraternitatis*, Andreae was personally stigmatized as the arch-Rosicrucian, thus occluding his considerable role in sparking a transnational movement that sought to improve the religious, social and intellectual order in early modern Europe through elite brotherhoods or secret societies (his real purpose in creating the fable of Christian Rosencreutz). His life and writings touched a raw nerve, not only inspiring a few like-minded individuals to associate in private societies to advance common causes, but many others to agitate publicly for access to a secret wisdom.³

The account narrated in the pages that follow has not been fully told though its broad outlines have been adumbrated in the vast secondary literature on the literary utopia.⁴ If read at all, such uto-

it also drew attention to the electronic edition of the Hartlib Papers (more than twenty-five thousand pages) that will allow a full-scale reevaluation of Hartlib’s work. Two recent volumes have been devoted to Hartlib’s accomplishments: *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor, ed. (London: Leicester UP, 1992), and *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication in the Seventeenth Century*, Leslie and Raylor, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994).

³ The history of the Rosicrucians is beginning to command serious attention. See, for example, Christopher McIntosh, *The Rose Cross and the Age of Reason: Eighteenth-Century Rosicrucianism in Central Europe and Its Relationship to the Enlightenment* (Leiden: Brill, 1992.)

⁴ For basic studies of the German societies, see the works listed in the bibliography of Richard van Dülmen to whom I am much indebted. All those who study the Hartlib circle are equally indebted to the work of G. H. Turnbull, whose *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib’s Papers* (London: UP of Liverpool, 1947) sketched the broad outlines of these societies. In the magnum opus of utopian studies, Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1979), valuable summaries can be found of Andreae, pp. 289–308, and Comenius, pp. 309–31. See also J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English*

pian works as Andreae's *Fama fraternitatis* (1614), *Confessio fraternitatis* (1615), *Christianopolis* (1619), *A Modell of a Christian Society* (1619) and *The Right Hand of Christian Love Offered* (1620), or Jan Amos Comenius's *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1623), or the Hartlib's circle *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), have been mentioned too often only as exemplars of the literary utopia. As such they lose much of their vitality and meaning, for literary utopias have been viewed with a degree of derision in this century, wherein attitudes have been shaped by Marxist hostility to "unscientific" utopias, especially through Engels' attack on the works of utopian socialists such as Fourier and Saint-Simon as pure fantasy.⁵ Hence "utopian," when applied to literary works, became a synonym for the unrealizable. In their influential anthology *The Quest for Utopia* (1952), Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick in fact defined utopia as an imaginative, aesthetic vision clearly distinct from the political realm. Such formalist attempts by literary scholars to depoliticize literature only strengthened this hostility. The notion of utopianism, however, has since been recuperated by sociologists. Karl Mannheim recognized that utopias describe situations counter to the existing order but distinguished them from unrealizable, escapist fantasies that distort and conceal present oppression (which he terms *ideology*): by expressing the unfulfilled needs of the age, authentic utopias move others collectively to transform the status quo. Ernst Bloch's *The Principle of Hope* similarly valorized utopian projections as fundamental expressions of collective fantasy and hope.⁶ While they approached it from different perspectives, Mannheim and Bloch each rescued

Utopia Writing 1516-1700 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981), who focuses on the utopian element in the political context of the Interregnum; Miriam Eliav-Feldon, *Realistic Utopias: The Ideal Imaginary Societies of the Renaissance, 1516-1630* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), who focuses on literary utopias; and W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1961), who provides an overview of the period. For primary bibliography, see Glenn Negley, *Utopian Literature: A Bibliography* (Lawrence: Regents P of Kansas, 1977).

⁵ Friedrich Engels, *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* (Zürich, 1882). For an excellent overview of the problems of defining utopias generically, see James Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England and America* (New York: Oxford UP, 1987), pp. 3-33.

⁶ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Harcourt, 1936), pp. 173-236; Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice & Paul Knight, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology P, 1986).

utopianism from the charge of idle idealism by showing how it could embody revolutionary aspirations.

In an age when the utopian impulse was quite strong, we must then interrogate the particular constellation of forces to which this impulse was responding. Utopianism in early modern Europe was animated by a vision of a perfect society and a desire to put that model into operation; hence, as Keith Thomas has recently pointed out, it can be considered revolutionary.⁷ Though many in the seventeenth century patiently awaited the approaching millennium and God's restoration of Eden, others believed that great things could be achieved in such special times. Certainly this was true during the Interregnum in England, when many dreamed of restoring dominion over nature, advancing learning, and achieving universal peace. The quest to establish the Baconian revolution was thus partly driven by a millenarian impulse, as Webster has shown.⁸ In his typology of seventeenth-century utopias, Thomas has in fact recognized the secret or semi-secret society pledged to the reform of the world as a utopian form, but no one has comprehensively examined the transnational connections among these associations.⁹ Many authors who specified Utopia or Cosmopolis or Philadelphia as the place of publication on the title page of their works were not simply circumventing official control over printing; they were also situating themselves in an ideal locale in the republic of letters.

In the chapters that follow, I have tried to practice historical criticism or literary history according to the general theory advocated by Jerome McGann, who has taught us to see the literary or cultural text as a social product, as something complexly written not by isolated individuals but by a large number of people and ultimately by the society of which they are a part. McGann urges us to embrace a critical methodology that examines the "history of the literary work's textualizations and the history of its reception" by considering not only the author, but the others involved in the initial process of production (collaborators, editors, scribes, etc.), the stages in the initial productive process (personal, textual, or social

⁷ Keith Thomas, "The Utopian Impulse in Seventeenth-Century England," *Costerus* NS 61 (1987):23-24.

⁸ This is a central idea in Webster's *The Great Instauration*.

⁹ Thomas, pp. 28-29. However, Richard van Dülmen has written extensively on the society movement in Germany.

states), and finally the materials, means, and modes of the initial production processes—all during the *originary textual moment* and then for any *secondary moments of textual production and reproduction*.¹⁰ These guidelines are particularly apropos to this study even though McGann has dealt chiefly with how the social production of meaning influences the move from manuscript to print text. My interests lie in a more particular instance of social production, the creation of cultural products within these secret societies. Moreover, to understand the utopian brotherhood movement means to study and understand the textual and reception history of their works. Because the two most notorious of these, the *Fama* and *Confessio*, were produced from within a manuscript circle and then both circulated and published anonymously, we must take special care in addressing the role of the author at the originary moment. The program outlined in the manifestos, of course, further deemphasized the traditional role of “author” by extolling the rewards of a spiritual brotherhood. The momentum for the transnational movement that followed was created largely through the transmission of these works; so, its history must be a reception history.

While we must remain conscious of our own historicity, we must in general try to understand past issues in their own terms, especially avoiding the imposition of the anachronistic categories that have marginalized this movement. Any points of contact with the Rosicrucian furor are easily susceptible to this fallacy. If one attempts to settle the question of whether Andreae was indeed a “Rosicrucian,” the battle has already been conceded by accepting this terminology. I have also tried to avoid the trap of refamiliarizing the past to make it conform to the present, by claiming these societies are worth studying because they prepared the way for the learned societies that were later given institutional status—a claim Comenius would himself make about his role in fostering the Royal Society. The fact that so many highly placed individuals in various places thought it worthwhile to support and invest in these networks is an indication of the importance accorded to these activities by their contemporaries.

¹⁰ Jerome J. McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1985), pp. 10, 82-83.

The private circle or academy was unquestionably a distinctive feature of late humanist culture. Given the conditions in the universities, those interested in the new learning—i.e., experimentation instead of abstract theory—gathered in private to discuss their work. Since the academic aim of the medieval university had been to pass on existing knowledge, professors were not expected to guide students toward independent research. Moreover, no forum for debating ideas in print existed until relatively late: the first scientific periodical, *Journal des Sçavans*, did not appear until January 1665 at Paris; the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in March 1665; *Giornali de' Litterati di Roma* in 1668; and the *Miscellanea Curiosa* in 1670 at Leipzig. Hence groups of humanists and *virtuosi*—a term that came to signify those inclined toward the new experimental philosophy—of necessity had to associate with one another. Best known was the circle gathered loosely about Ficino at the Medici villa at Careggi, known generally as the *Accademia Platonica*. Meetings at these Italian academies were characterized by a “sociable” mode of discussing and learning, which, as Nikolaus Pevsner remarks, “must have appeared so fascinating, and so happily opposed to the scholastic pedantry of the universities.”¹¹ Between 1540 and 1729 over five hundred academies were founded in Italy, being principally of two kinds: language or literary societies and scientific academies.¹² The role of the *Accademia della Crusca* (1582), the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (1617), and the *Académie Française* (1635) in creating postclassical culture by standardizing vernacular texts, grammars, and dictionaries is currently being established.¹³

Scientific academies also arose first in Italy. At first such societies were established very discreetly out of public view and have in fact

¹¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: Da Capo, 1973), p. 3. See also James Hankins, “The Myth of the Platonic Academy of Florence,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991):429-75, who argues that this group was more of a *gymnasium* for students than a Platonic confraternity.

¹² Pevsner, pp. 7-8; see also Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg, 1947), pp. 1-13.

¹³ See Pevsner, pp. 14-18. See also Martin Bircher and Ferdinand van Ingen, eds. *Sprachgesellschaften, Sozietäten, Dichtergruppen*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, vol. 7 (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1978); Klaus Conermann, “War die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft eine Akademie?” pp. 103-30, argues that the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* was in essence an Italian academy.

been termed “Italian academies of secrets” by William Eamon.¹⁴ The *Accademia Segreta* was founded near Naples in the 1540s by Girolamo Ruscelli (1500-c. 1566). Supported by local patrons, they built a meeting house called the *Filosofia*. In this secluded place the twenty-four members, all sworn to secrecy, conducted experiments using standardized testing procedures to hunt for new secrets of nature. A few decades later, Giambattista Della Porta (1535-1615) formed the *Accademia dei Secreti* more than likely in imitation of the earlier society. As he made clear in the preface to the second edition of his book of secrets, *Magia naturalis* (1589), he formed the academy in his home to conduct the research described in his book. In 1603 the *Accademia dei Lincei* was founded at Rome (according to bestiary lore the lynx was endowed with keen sight). Originally it had four noble founders, headed by Federigo Cesi (1585-1630). They met clandestinely (using secret names and writing in cipher) at Cesi’s palace where the botanical gardens, collections, and library aided their investigations until they were discovered and forced to disband. When Cesi acceded to his duchy in 1610, they reestablished themselves as an open research institute with characteristics of both a religious order and an order of chivalry. After Galileo became a member in 1611, the *Lincei* turned away from esoteric pursuits and met regularly for two decades. In France the physician Théophraste Renaudot (1586-1653) first arranged lectures and discussions on various scientific topics between 1630-1642 at his Bureau d’Adresse in Paris. Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), however, was the most important French organizer. From 1620-1648 his cell in Paris became the center of a vast scientific correspondence among leading continental scientists. He was a vociferous advocate of the new scientific method, based on mathematics and observation.

In England a group of interested gentlemen calling itself the Society of Antiquaries began to meet formally (c. 1572) under the patronage of Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury. Led by

¹⁴ William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), p. 290; see further pp. 147-51 and 194-203. See also Martha Ornstein, *The Role of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1928), and Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1994).

William Camden (1551-1623) and Robert Cotton (1571-1631), the group was devoted to preserving national antiquities, such as manuscripts formerly held in religious houses. They petitioned Elizabeth unsuccessfully in 1589 for a charter of incorporation to establish an academy and library. The society was abolished in 1604 when James I suspected that Cotton's archive of English manuscripts was being used for political ends by statesmen and administrators.¹⁵ The library at Mortlake of John Dee (1527-1609) attracted a similar group.¹⁶ About a decade later Edmund Bolton (1575-1633), an ardent antiquary himself, proposed that royal patronage be granted to an *Academ Roial* to be housed at Windsor Castle and "incorporated vnder the tittle of a brotherhood or fraternitie, associated for matters of Honour and Antiquity."¹⁷ Matters of honor would be superintended by the upper circle of the academy, drawn from the Order of the Garter under the marshallship of George Villiers, then Marquis of Buckingham and Bolton's distant kinsman. Concentric to these would be a working group of scholars, termed the Essentials, who would have "the superintendencies of the review, or the review itself of all *English* translations of secular learning" and the power to authorize all non-theological literature.¹⁸ First broached in 1617, the design was advocated to Parliament in 1621 by Buckingham and approved in 1624, but the death of James meant Bolton would have to win over Charles who did not share his father's scholarly interests.¹⁹ Following in Bolton's wake was Sir

¹⁵ "An Historical Account of the Origin and Establishment of the Society of Antiquaries," *Archaeologia* 1 (1779):i-xl. See also Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: Oxford UP for the Society of Antiquaries, 1956); and Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 1979).

¹⁶ See William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P. 1995), pp. 29-52.

¹⁷ BL MS, Harleian 6143, fol. 19^v. See Joseph Hunter, "An Account of the Scheme for Erecting a Royal Academy in England, in the Reign of King James the First," *Archaeologia* 32 (1847):132-49; and Ethel M. Portal, "The Academ Roial of King James I," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 7 (1915-1916):189-208.

¹⁸ BL MS, Add. 39,177, fol. 6^r. Bolton suggested eighty-four names, among them John Selden and Edward Coke.

¹⁹ The original petition addressed to Buckingham is now BL MS, Harl. 6103, an exquisite quarto with full color illustrations of the Order of the Garter (another copy exists at the National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 463). Harl. 6143, dated 1621, contains the address to James and parts of the proposition made by Buckingham (fols. 15-27, 33-36). Another BL MS, Royal 18A LXXI, "The Cabinet Royal" 1627 by Bolton, is a letter urging the new king to nurture the "studie of honor, & of heroick leters which the glorious king your most roial Father, did relish" (fol. 10^r). Finally, Add. 39,177 (fols. 1-8)

Francis Kynaston (1587-1642), who in 1635 set up an academy in London for educating young noblemen, called the *Museum Minervæ*, to which Charles did grant £100.²⁰ In the 1640s informal groups also began to meet in London and at the universities (to be discussed in Chapter six).

In pre-Reformation Germany, the first societies—Conrad Celtis's *Sodalitas Literaria Rhenana* and *Sodalitas Literaria Danubiana*—were imitations of Italian humanist academies. As in de-centralized Italy, learned societies would develop throughout Germany in the seventeenth century: at Rostock, the *Societas Ereunetica* (1622); at Schweinfurt, the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* (1652), which later gained an imperial charter and the right to confer degrees as the Leopoldine Academy; at Altdorf in the 1670s, the *Collegium Experimentale* of Johann Christoph Sturm (1635-1703); and most notably at Berlin, the forerunner of the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, Leibniz' *Academia Scientiarum* (1700), which satisfied his long-standing need for a pansophical academy dedicated to organizing and systematizing universal wisdom. Most of the German societies had cosmopolitan ideals with international memberships, though members were typically Protestants.²¹

Many of these learned societies were under suspicion of heretical, enthusiastic, and alchemical leanings, since they displayed inclinations towards natural-philosophical, pansophical, and esoteric ideas—despite what we today would regard as having a “scientific” mission.²² An antipathy toward magic in western culture has ex-

is a re-presentation of the full idea to Charles, made via Buckingham (dated about 1630, judging from a marginal note on fol. 2^v to the commendatory poem by Sir William Alexander, “Now, Lord Viscount STERLING.”)

²⁰ See Kynaston, *The Constitutions of the Museum Minervæ* (London, 1636). Six professors taught music, medicine, astronomy, geometry, languages, and fencing; Kynaston instructed in practical law, heraldry, and other antiquarian subjects. Students were to stay for three years or for a full course of seven years.

²¹ Richard van Dülmen, “Sozietätsbildungen in Nürnberg im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Gesellschaft und Herrschaft: Forschungen zu sozial- und landesgeschichtlichen Problemen vornehmlich in Bayern*, ed. van Dülmen (Munich: Beck, 1969), p. 154. R. J. W. Evans, “Learned Societies in Germany in the Seventeenth Century,” *European Studies Review* 7 (1977):135-37, points out that the compendious annual *Ephemerides* or *Miscellanea Curiosa* (1670 onwards) of the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* was not produced with only a German readership in mind; it was published in Latin and provided observations, exchanges and news of international science.

²² van Dülmen, “Sozietätsbildungen,” p. 156: “Da sie nicht selten eine naturphilosophische, pansophische und esoterische, also unorthodoxe Neigung zeigten, standen sie bei der einflußreichen kirchlichen Orthodoxie immer im Verdacht ketzerischer,

isted since early times: certain practices (*magicae vanitates*) were capital offenses in the Roman empire, and since it involved demons St. Augustine had denounced magic as a form of idolatry in *De divinatione daemonum*. A certain animus against experimental science also existed in the Middle Ages due to the scholastic preference for abstract theory over manual practice. When the *via experimentalis* then claimed superiority over the *via rationis* because of its greater utility and resulting power, its practitioners became dangerous indeed. Even while this antipathy existed in certain quarters, as Eamon shows in his comprehensive study of the books of secrets, the age was fascinated with secrets and recipes of all sorts, as evidenced by the *ciarlatani*, who played to enthralled audiences in town squares throughout early modern Europe, and the extraordinary popularity of authors such as Alessio Piemontesse or Della Porta who professed secrets. We can likewise attribute the pursuit of curiosities for the cabinets of the elite classes to the same psychological phenomenon.²³ As is well known, some rulers, notably Rudolf II and Moritz of Hessen, patronized those who professed or sought such secrets as a sign of their power. So an interest in secret or esoteric wisdom remained strong throughout the age.

Learned societies in Germany have often been viewed by scholars as a bulwark to preserve German culture and especially German language against the threat of outside forces during the Thirty Years' War. Foremost among them was the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, but the *Deutschgesinnte-* or *Rosen-Genossenschaft* flourished in the north as the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden* did in Nuremberg. R. J. W. Evans has lately inquired whether the "diverse and spontaneous calls for Utopian reform, associated especially with the movement known as the 'Rosicrucians'" might require another category of learned societies, the esoteric. Based on the evidence of the "loose, pious" *Unio Christiana* of 1628, he discounts such a category, because these Rosicrucian groups simply did not exist.²⁴

In this book, however, I shall argue that precisely such a category should be added to the literary societies, language societies, and

schwärmerischer und alchemistischer Ideen."

²³ Eamon, pp. 38-90 and 234-66.

²⁴ Evans, "Learned Societies," pp. 132-33. Ludwig Keller, "Comenius und die Akademien der Naturphilosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* 4 (1895):1-28, 69-96, 133-84, has argued that the scientific societies were secret associations dedicated to proto-masonic ends.

scientific societies that developed out of the “diverse and spontaneous calls for Utopian reform,” the Protestant utopian brotherhoods that more closely resembled learned academies than religious orders, but which were actually *sui generis*. These Christian learned societies were dominated by a utopian belief in a world in which reformed religion should preside over all aspects of human activity, including the science they also advocated. Thus, these Protestant brotherhoods should be distinguished from purely secular efforts to construct Solomon’s House along the lines of a research institute or an educational establishment. Comenius, in fact, took Bacon specifically to task for having made nature itself the prime end, instead of God in nature. These brotherhoods, though, had more in common with the scientific revolution than may be readily apparent. The revolution in science occurred when Bacon’s empirical methodology was enabled by mathematical advances and the development of a scientific technology, all of which would vastly alter the technology of experimentation. Such inventions as the telescope, however, were only possible after the emergence of a more fundamental *idea*: that one could achieve power over nature through *scientia*, a concept which had always been an essential feature of hermetic magic.

We should also distinguish these brotherhoods from groups such as Dirck Coornhert’s Dutch *Collegiants*, whose communities were also called *collegia* or “gatherings,” for they were fundamentally concerned with establishing an “interim-church” outside of the structures of the Reformed Church.²⁵ In Germany the utopian brotherhoods had quite a different character. They first emerged from within Lutheran orthodoxy and sought to revitalize the inner life rather than to transform the structures of the church; instead, they emphasized piety and esoteric learning as a means of imbuing the age with new life. Evans himself has observed that many in this age of crisis yearned for some form of unity or fellowship, an observation that is equally valid for early modern England, *mutatis mutandis*.

By 1700 the Reich was in many ways more divided than ever. Hence through their societies, real or projected, intellectuals sought unity, a

²⁵ See Andrew C. Fix, *Prophecy and Reason: The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991).

markedly Utopian unity, on a wider base than that of mere co-operation. Their culture remained Latinate, often retrospective, full of symbolism, even—to venture a dangerous word—Baroque; nearer the hierarchy and emblems of a late-Renaissance court than the assured civic values of West European centres. They were moreover caught in the paradox of an essentially esoteric tradition made to serve practical ends, and perhaps still so wedded to the elitism of the former that they could not grasp the common enlightenment which underlay the latter. Their academies remained castles of universal erudition in the individual mind; the legacy of Leibniz himself illustrates both the grandeur and the fading of their vision.²⁶

Certainly some of these utopianists tilted at windmills, but the reach of a few extended beyond castles of the mind and into historic action in significant ways.

The relative obscurity of such figures as Andreae or Hartlib, I believe, stems from the way the debate over the role of occult science in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century has been represented. Ever since Lynn Thorndike's encyclopedic *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (8 volumes, 1923-1958) made the long-standing relationship between science and natural magic difficult to deny, two schools of thought have dominated thinking. One school, represented by the work of Frances Yates, Walter Pagel, D. P. Walker, and Allen G. Debus, among others, holds that Neoplatonism, hermeticism, alchemy, and other forms of occultism contributed significantly to science in the seventeenth century.²⁷ Yates boldly asserts that the core of Ficino and Pico's Neoplatonism was hermeticism—with its view of the cosmos as a network of magical forces to be manipulated by the magus—and that Neoplatonism

²⁶ Evans, "Learned Societies," p. 146.

²⁷ See Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1964) and *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972); Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*, 2nd. ed. (Basel: Karger, 1982); D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg, 1958) and *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1972); and Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (New York: Science History Publications, 1977).

“prepared the way for the emergence of science.”²⁸ Her later books subsequently push the argument further still in according the occult sciences a place even more central than “rational” science. The other school, represented by the work of A. Rupert Hall, Mary Hesse, Robert S. Westman, J. E. McGuire, and Brian Vickers, holds that the scientific revolution occurred precisely when those forms of occultism were jettisoned for a rational, experimental methodology.²⁹ In his introductory essay to *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (1984), Brian Vickers, while avowing that he comes to understand occultism not to bury it, formulates the difference between the two positions on the scientific revolution quite strikingly in his treatment of the so-called “Yates thesis.”³⁰

Vickers proposes that the fundamental categories “scientific” and “occult” are “traditions each having its own thought processes, its own mental categories, which determine its whole approach to life, mind, physical reality.” For Vickers “science” is an open, progressive system, characterized by “its readiness to consider alternatives and to revise theories and models.” “Occult science,” in contrast, is a closed, self-contained and self-referring system, “built out of purely mental operations, the arrangement of items into hierarchies, the construction of categories that become matrices for the production of further categories.”³¹ In sum, Vickers’ categories are predicated on a vision of the scientific revolution as the triumph of the rational over the irrational. However, as I intend to demonstrate in later chapters and as historians have amply shown in other

²⁸ Frances A. Yates, “The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science” in *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance*, ed. Charles S. Singleton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1967), p. 258.

²⁹ See, for example, A. Rupert Hall, “Magic, Metaphysics and Mysticism in the Scientific Revolution” in *Reason, Experiment and Mysticism in the Scientific Revolution*, ed. M. L. Righini Bonelli and William R. Shea (New York: Science History Publications, 1975), pp. 275–82; Mary Hesse, “Reason and Evaluation in the History of Science” in *Changing Perspectives in the History of Science: Essays in Honour of Joseph Needham*, ed. Mikulas Teich and Robert Young (Dordrecht and Boston: Reidel, 1973), pp. 127–47; Robert S. Westman and J. E. McGuire, ed., *Hermeticism and the Scientific Revolution* (Los Angeles: U of California P, 1977); and Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984).

³⁰ Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities*, p. 46, n. 10. See also Brian P. Copenhaver, “Natural Magic, Hermeticism, and Occultism in Early Modern Science” in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), pp. 261–301.

³¹ Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities*, pp. 6, 39, 12.

cases, the historical record does not support such an easy categorization.³² Though Vickers insists these categories were “perfectly clear to Renaissance thinkers,” they are really, as Patrick Curry replies in an incisive review essay,

modern ones, and incorporate a great deal of material—both empirical and conceptual—which postdate the period in question. The point is precisely that such categories were then in the very process of being negotiated, as part of the complex interplay between Aristotelianism, Renaissance Neoplatonism and magic, and the mechanical and experimental philosophies.³³

Curry also points out, ironically, that none of the essays in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* really respects this bifurcation.

As historians have become more reflective about their praxis, such reductivism has become better understood. Each account of the scientific revolution has been shaped by what may be termed a *textualist* paradigm for reconstructing the history of ideas. Imposing such categories as rational or irrational, occult or scientific, to “clarify” the argument is insidiously anachronistic: losers are always seen to be wrong. Defining complex historical phenomena such as Neoplatonism or Newtonianism in abstract, theoretical terms and then fitting historical figures into the requirements of the definition does not further our understanding. In his now classic essay, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” Quentin Skinner exposes many of the assumptions about the conditions necessary for the understanding of utterances made by historians of ideas.³⁴ These tendencies, or “philosophical mistakes” as Skinner terms them, clearly have a bearing on the issues on which we are focusing. Many of the great intellectual historians of this century—Lovejoy, Boas, Kristeller—sought the “timeless elements” and “universal ideas” in the texts themselves. Such historians inevitably were driven by preconceptions about ideas as appropriate units of inves-

³² See K. Theodore Hoppen, “The Nature of the Early Royal Society,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 9 (1976):1-24, 243-273; and Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982).

³³ Patrick Curry, “Revisions of Science and Magic,” *History of Science* 23 (1985):306, 303. For a different kind of analysis of this interplay, see Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven, Yale UP, 1985).

³⁴ Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8 (1969):3-53.

tigation and by assumptions about eternal verities; these preconceptions organized their perceptions and acted as determinants of those perceptions. The most persistent phenomenon Skinner labels the “mythology of doctrines”: scattered or incidental remarks were converted into evidence for the existence of some doctrine, for which a complete morphology over time from its ideal type could then be traced, the classic example being Lovejoy’s construction of his “chain of being.” As Skinner notes, “The history thus written becomes a history not of ideas at all, but of abstractions: a history of thoughts which no one ever actually succeeded in thinking, at a level of coherence which no one ever actually attained.”³⁵ In the debate outlined above, the terms “scientific” and “hermetic” have been so neatly schematized that useful analysis has been thwarted.

A more rigorous history will not concentrate solely on textual form—since texts do not serve up their “essence” on a platter—but will radically historicize the contexts.

The great mistake lies not merely in looking for the “essential meaning” of the “idea” as something which must necessarily “remain the same,” but even in thinking of any “essential” meaning (to which individual writers “contribute”) at all. The appropriate, and famous formula—famous to philosophers, at least—is rather that we should study not the meanings of the words but their use. For the given idea cannot ultimately be said in this sense to *have* any meaning that can take the form of a set of words which can then be excogitated and traced out over time. Rather the meaning of the idea must *be* its uses to refer in various ways.³⁶

Skinner urges that we distinguish between the *occurrence* of words denoting a given idea and their *use* in context. The famous formula to which he refers belongs of course to Wittgenstein (and is quoted as the epigraph to this chapter). In terms of the subject of this study, the utopian works produced by seventeenth-century brotherhoods have been read as *occurrences* of words denoting ideas without taking into account their proper *use*, i.e., the movement for a Protestant utopian brotherhood then emerging in Germany and England in response to the general crisis of the earlier seventeenth century.

In constructing for these learned circles a microhistory—as Carlo

³⁵ Skinner, p. 18.

³⁶ Skinner, p. 37.

Ginzburg uses this term, a reduction in scale in historical research – I have traced the names and interactions of the members by relying primarily on the standard currency of the *respublica literaria*, epistolary exchanges among the *virtuosi*; in addition I have used their manifestos and *leges societatis* as well as their literary utopias.³⁷ From these materials I have traced the genesis of the various societies through the collaborative authorship and circulation of their texts. Whenever possible, I have examined the manifold factors intersecting a given place and time – e.g., evidence from matriculation records to physically place individuals together, or the impact of the Thirty Years' War on the lives of the principals. Meaning can only be acquired through such contexts, whether one is historicizing literary works or the narrative of history.³⁸

In his important article restoring texts of Andreae's *Christianae societatis imago* and *Christiani amoris dextera porrecta* to the scholarly world, long thought lost and newly discovered among Hartlib's papers, G. H. Turnbull wrote half a century ago: "Despite this additional evidence the history of Andreae's *Societas Christiana* and the society (or societies) named *Antilia* and the connections between them (so far as they exist) remain dark and relatively unsolved problems."³⁹ The following account may shed some light on these and other associations. Chapters two and three trace the origins of the Rosicrucian manifestos to Andreae's circle at Tübingen in the early decades of the seventeenth century and examine Andreae's lifelong commitment to the ideal of the utopian brotherhood. Chapter four examines the societies and epistolary networks that arose in early modern Germany, though it stops short of designating them as Andreae's own. Because the various societies were different in so many ways,

³⁷ See Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989); and Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, ed., *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1991), especially Muir's introduction, pp. vii–xxviii.

³⁸ See E. P. Thompson, "Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context," *Midland History* 1 (1972):41–55.

³⁹ G. H. Turnbull, "Johann Valentin Andreaes *Societas Christiana*," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 73 (1954):415.

it is more accurate to regard them as inspired by common ideals rather than designed according to a single model. In so doing, I hope to balance my account of Andreae and his followers against the rather sensational one offered in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* by Yates, who created at the court of the winter King of Bohemia a hermetic golden age, inspired by the Rosicrucian movement, that made the Royal Society itself possible. Chapters five and six trace the movement of these ideas to England through the energies of the remarkable Hartlib and their flowering in the 1650s.

Most of the brotherhoods considered below displayed a certain fondness for mystery. In addition to secret names, many also used a secret password or *tessera*. Originally this word denoted a small, quadrilateral tablet used officially in ancient Rome as a ticket or receipt. In private use, the *tessera hospitalis* was a tablet divided to signify friendship and reciprocal claims to hospitality (and to enable descendants to establish similar claims). Hence *tessera* came to mean a distinguishing sign or password. Hartlib clearly referred to such a *tessera* when he noted that a member of a Rosicrucian society who lived in Lincolnshire had a “peculiar Motto or Tessera wherby they are distinguished,” which he later identified as “the Tesseram of Antilia.”⁴⁰ The word also denoted the spirit of brotherhood or charity that bound them together, as is apparent from Johann Abraham Pömer’s remark to Andreae that John 13:35 (“By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another”) was the “true tessera of the disciples of Christ.”⁴¹ Perhaps the best known of these brotherhoods at the time was called *Antilia* (after a fabulous lost island in the Atlantic that mariners had sometimes seen but could not reliably locate, which ultimately gave its name to the entire West Indies). The title and inspiration for this study were drawn from what Pömer designated the true *tessera* of this fabled society.

⁴⁰ Hartlib, *Ephemerides* (1659), SUL H 29.8.6a. On 2 April 1660, SUL H 29.8.12a, he noted that “A Knight in Lincoln-shire S. Brownloe is held a Rosæcrucian and hath the Tesseram of Antilia.”

⁴¹ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 13 July 1641, Wolfenbüttel MS *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2°, fol. 25: “interim vera illa Discipularum Christi tessera Johan. 13. v. 35 planè obliteratur.” Similarly, Andreae referred to the “*Sacræ Cænæ tessera*” in *Veræ unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen* (1628), Sig. A6^r.

CHAPTER TWO

JOHANN VALENTIN ANDREAE'S CHRISTIAN UTOPIA

That nothing approaches nearer God then Unity, nor recedes further from him then dissonancy, the consciences and experience of all men do sufficiently evince: . . . Which being observed by the wisest of men both in ancient and modern times, they gathered into societies, regulated by such orders as they had agreed on among themselves; so that, what was beyond the power of one man or a few might be supplied, strengthened, and (as it were) admitted to the participation of the whole world, by the joint association of many: which ever brought along with it such an apparent commodity and expeditenesse, that besides abundance of wealth, it hath contributed a great deal of knowledge of the world, and consequently much fuel to humane curiosity.

Andreae, *A Modell of a Christian Society*

The legend of Christian Rosencreutz has obscured the reputation and accomplishments of Johann Valentin Andreae since 1614, when an anonymous collection of pamphlets was published in Kassel that met with extraordinary acclaim and curiosity. Together with the *Allgemeine und General Reformation, der gantzen weiten Welt*—a translation of the twenty-sixth chapter of Traiano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612-1613) made by Christoph Besold, a prominent professor at Tübingen and friend of Andreae, which called for a second reformation and a new society based on Christian charity—was the *Fama Fraternitatis, Deß Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europæ geschrieben*.¹ The legend of Christian Rosencreutz was known at least by 1610, as attested by the “response” published with these two tracts by Adam Haselmeyer, notary public to Arch-

¹ A separate title page gave a different subtitle to the *Fama Fraternitatis*, describing it as *Brüderschaft, des Hochlöblichen Ordens des R. C. An die Häupter, Stände und Gelehrten Europæ*, thus incorporating the key terms of “brotherhood” and “order.” For fuller bibliographic details, see August Wolfstieg, *Bibliographie der Freimaurerischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hiersemann & Verein deutscher Freimaurer, 1923-1926).

duke Maximilian and self-described devotee of Paracelsus.² The ensuing furor over this mysterious proclamation has enveloped Andreae in controversy ever since. Since his death dozens of attempts have been made to settle the question of his part in drafting these manifestos. In essence, two positions have been argued: because most of Andreae's life was spent in service to the Lutheran church, one side vehemently denies any involvement on his part whatsoever, while the other transforms him into either the mystical father of the secret brotherhood or one of the hidden hands behind a political movement. Modern day Rosicrucians have even erected a temple in honor of their "founder" at Calw where Andreae spent nineteen years as pastor. Because Andreae's autobiography was not discovered until the eighteenth century, his early reputation was based on misinformation. As result we have been offered rather one-sided views of him: when his many orthodox religious writings are neglected, he becomes the arch-Rosicrucian; when the difficulties posed by the Rosicrucian problem are ignored, the middle and later writings reveal him as the fore-runner of Philipp Jakob Spener and German pietism. The controversies over his authorship—over labels instead of *use*—have made it difficult, in other words, to locate his major efforts. Only in the past few decades have the intricacies of his life been brought to light by such scholars as John Warwick Montgomery, Richard van Dülmen, Martin Brecht, and Roland Edighoffer.³

² Haselmeyer's *Antwort: An die Lobwürdige Brüderschaft der Theosophen, vom Rosenkreutz N. N.* stated that the manuscript circulated in the Tyrol in 1610 (*Allgemeine und General Reformation* [Kassel, 1614], p. 130). His response had been published in 1612 and then reprinted in the first edition of the *Fama*. On Haselmeyer, see Walter Senn, "Adam Haslmayr: Musiker, Philosoph und 'Ketzer,'" in *Festschrift Leonhard C. Franz zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Osmund Menghin and Hermann M. Ölberg (Innsbruck: Sprachwissenschaftliches Institut of the University of Innsbruck, 1965), pp. 379-400; and Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr: Der erste Verkünder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer* (Amsterdam: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1994).

³ See especially John Warwick Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible: Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654)*. *Phoenix of the Theologians*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973); Richard van Dülmen, *Die Utopie einer christlichen Gesellschaft: Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654)* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1978); Martin Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae. Weg und Programm eines Reformers zwischen Reformation und Moderne" in *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, ed. Martin Brecht (Tübingen: Mohr, 1977), pp. 270-343; Roland Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae. Vom Rosenkreuz zur Pantopie," *Daphnis* 10 (1981):211-39, and *Rose-Croix et Société Idéale selon Johann Valentin Andreae*, 2 vols. (Neuilly sur Seine: Arma Artis, 1982 and Paris: Arma Artis, 1987); and Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western*

Since most of the scholarly work being done on Andreae has come from the field of church history, literary historians have often dealt with him in a rather cursory way, if at all. Those who encounter Andreae through English literary criticism are at a further disadvantage since he features so prominently in Frances Yates' seriously flawed *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972), whose notoriety stems in large measure from her claim that the Rosicrucian movement was intended to foster a Hermetic golden age associated with the court of Frederick V, Elector Palatine of Heidelberg and the Winter King of Bohemia (1619-1620), and that the Rosicrucian "enlightenment" was a fundamental cultural phase in the move toward the scientific revolution in the later seventeenth century.⁴ Her treatment of Andreae is quite restrained, given her tendency to broad speculation, though he is tarred, to be sure, with the broad brush of her zeal.

Problems of another sort arise from Montgomery's critical biography, *Cross and Crucible* (1972), which is driven by an image of Andreae as a pious, orthodox Lutheran theologian, whose life was a seamless and consistent whole. Montgomery often underplays historical facts—such as Andreae's expulsion from university or his failure of exams—and denies the obviously nascent Rosicrucianism of the *Chymische Hochzeit* in order to save appearances. Representing his complex life through such a rigid either-or formulation—i.e., orthodoxy versus heterodoxy—establishes the battle lines in such a way as to make useful analysis impossible. Like others before him, Montgomery presumed that no other evidence, save Andreae's unfortunate choice of the name Christian Rosencreutz for a persona in the *Chymische Hochzeit*, linked him to the manifestos. However, Edighoffer and Brecht, working independently, discovered evidence

World (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1979). For a brief overview of the scholarship on Andreae himself, see Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae," pp. 272-73.

⁴ Despite the withering review of *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* by Brian Vickers, "Frances Yates and the Writing of History," *Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979):287-316, which revealed that her creation of a Rosicrucian movement where none existed was a "triumph of rhetoric" made possible by her manipulation of evidence, positive reviews by D. P. Walker, "The Elusive Rosicrucians," *History of Science* 11 (1973):306-10, and Hugh Trevor-Roper tended to sanction her conclusions. The historical inaccuracies of Yates' major sources, Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die Rosenkreutzer. Zur Geschichte einer Reformation* (Jena: Diederich, 1928), and Paul Arnold, *Histoire des Rose-Croix et les origines de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1955), have been revealed by Montgomery, pp. 158-62.

of Andreae's direct involvement in several of the treatises, most notably the second manifesto, the *Confessio fraternitatis*.⁵ In a commemorative work for his friend Tobias Hess, titled *Theca gladii spiritus, sententias quasdam breves vereque philosophicas continens* (Strasbourg, 1616), Andreae had gathered together thoughts and notes from Hess's manuscripts. It contained enough citations from Andreae's own work, such as *De Christiani Cosmoxeni genitura*, *Judicium* (Montbéliard, 1612), to make clear that they had worked collaboratively.⁶ Most importantly, it also contained quotations from the recently published *Confessio* and his *Invitatio fraternitatis Christi*, which was issued in two parts in 1617 and 1618. Andreae, who alone was responsible for these selections, can thus be linked definitively to two of the three major Rosicrucian tracts, the *Chymische Hochzeit* and *Confessio*. Despite all the painstaking scholarship asserting the uniformity of the pious Andreae's life, the truth is rather more complicated.⁷

⁵ See Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae," pp. 285-86; and Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae," pp. 225-26, and *Rose-Croix*, pp. 288-300. Montgomery, "The World-view of Johann Valentin Andreae," in *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz: Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1986) und die Manifeste der Rosenkreuzerbruderschaft (1614-1616)* (Amsterdam: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1988), pp. 152-69, defends himself against recent challenges without engaging the new textual arguments of Brecht and Edighoffer. Brecht writes of Montgomery: "Despite all of the careful source materials and bibliographical foundation this is an obvious one-sided solution, contradictory to its sources, which once more tears apart things belonging together" ("Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 273).

⁶ In the preface to the *Theca*, Andreae explained that these *sententiae* were taken both from Hess's writings and conversations, but in his autobiography, *Vita, ab ipso conscripta*, F. H. Rheinwald, ed. (Berlin, 1849), p. 46, Andreae stated that "though credited to Hess, they were plainly mine" (*Hesso imputata, plane mea*). All citations from the autobiography will be given to the German edition as well: *Selbstbiographie Johann Valentin Andreae's*, David Christoph Seybold, ed. (Winterthur, 1799), p. 71; Seybold's translation – "Hessen beilegte, und die ganz mein ist" – attributes authorship solely to Andreae.

⁷ The subsequent history of the Rosicrucian brotherhood has been scrutinized by a host of scholars and partisan historians, the murky details of which need not concern us here. For example, A. E. Waite, that apostle of occultism, has produced two quite different histories: *The Real History of the Rosicrucians* (London: George Redway, 1887), pp. 217-45, argued that Andreae joined a secret society led by Simon Studion (who produced the two tracts), named the *Militia Crucifera Evangelica*; after Studion's death, Andreae transformed this group into the Rosicrucians. In *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Rider, 1924), pp. 182-214, Waite reconsidered the evidence and denied that Andreae was involved: "As I intimated over thirty years since and have reaffirmed now, I believe that he dressed up his juvenile extravaganza [*Chymische Hochzeit*] with a few Rosicrucian tags and tie-ups, to express his detestation of the *Fama*, its claims and all its ways, by making confusion worse confounded in respect of the debate, then raging at its highest" (p. 209).

Since all that can be known of the Rosicrucian “movement” is really the history of the publication of its manifestos, whenever possible I will tread on the firm ground of “the history of the literary work’s textualizations and the history of its reception.”⁸ The following two chapters will therefore seek to understand Andreae by unravelling the riddle created by these bibliographic facts and fit them into a clearer understanding of his life. His writings and his life’s commitment to a *Societas Christiana* provided a potent stimulus to Protestant intellectuals at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the history of which deserves wider currency. In the two decades before the great war, a spate of writings designed to move the Lutheran church towards a second reformation as it approached its centennial were produced. Andreae’s major works appeared in these anxious times. His story, though involved, gives us part of the broad background to events in England in the 1640s and 1650s, as will become evident in due course.⁹ Before we can consider his intellectual circles and his involvement in the Rosicrucian legend and the Protestant utopian movement, however, the first step must be a sketch of his life.

A. Andreae’s Family, Education, and Ministry

Johann Valentin Andreae was born in 1586 at Herrenberg in the Duchy of Württemberg, where his father Johann Andreae (1554–1601) was a clergyman. His grandfather, the theologian Jakob Andreae (1528–1590), had been a friend of Luther, chancellor of the university at Tübingen, and an author of the Formula of Concord (1577), a statement of Lutheran orthodoxy that forged a middle position between Trent and Geneva to preserve harmony among the faithful. Jakob Andreae also established the family coat of arms, a St. Andrew’s cross and four roses, quite similar, in fact, to Luther’s own seal. His father was evidently a working alchemist, who was

⁸ Jerome J. McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 10.

⁹ My argument here certainly benefits from the work of many earlier scholars, notably Johann Gottlieb Buhle, *Über den Ursprung und die vornehmsten Schicksale der Orden der Rosenkreuzer und Freymaurer* (Göttingen, 1804), who argued long ago a position close to my own without being able to link Andreae definitively to the manifestos.

taken in by impostors on occasion.¹⁰ The duke of Württemberg, Friedrich I (reigned 1593-1608), was not only tolerant of alchemy, but patronized those who claimed knowledge of the art of transmuting metals to gold, though he also sent impostors to the gallows: three times between 1596 and 1601. (An interest in alchemy seemed to run in the family, for Andreae later lamented that his clergyman-brother, a pastor at Birkenfeld, had wasted the better part of his fifty-four years in chemical pursuits.¹¹) When Johann Andreae died in 1601, his wife Maria (1550-1632) moved her seven children to Tübingen, where she was appointed court apothecary to Duke Friedrich.¹²

Andreae matriculated in 1602 at Tübingen, received the baccalaureate on 13 April 1603 and the master of arts on 6 February 1605, studying a traditional arts course that ended with philosophy. The books that he read during this time, according to his autobiography, show that he received a broad education in the classics, the natural sciences and mathematics.¹³ He then began to study theology under Michael Schaefer in preparation for ordination; he had been promised a fellowship and been given permission by the theology faculty to preach. Andreae however was not able to complete his studies until 1613-1614, because he was overtaken in 1607 by what he later referred to as an *atra tempestas* that caused him to be expelled.¹⁴

Since crucial documents do not survive, it is difficult to reconstruct exactly what caused such a radical change in Andreae's career plans. Though Montgomery terms it an "innocent association" with other students, Andreae made clear in his autobiography that

¹⁰ In his tribute to his mother, "Mariae Andreanæ merita materna," published in *In bene meritos gratitudo* (Strasbourg, 1633), p. 47, Andreae wrote that his mother was accustomed to strict discipline while his father had a liberal spirit: his mother was devoted to poverty, "pater interdum in impostores, qui varias artes venditabant, contulit. . . . Alebat tum pater inutilem chymicorum, & rei familiari noxiam turbam" (p. 52).

¹¹ *Vita*, p. 120 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 132].

¹² Montgomery, pp. 26-27, calls her the first woman apothecary. Andreae paid her elaborate tributes in his writing--e.g., *Christianopolis*, p. 260.

¹³ He matriculated on 14 January 1602; on 13 April 1603 he received the baccalaureate; on 6 February 1605, the magister, *Tübingen*, II, 10. *Vita*, p. 11-13 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 17-21]. There were four faculties at this time, Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts, but Andreae did not begin with his theological studies until 1605. See Johannes Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen, 1477-1537* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927).

¹⁴ *Vita*, pp. 13-14 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 22].

he participated and was rightly punished.¹⁵ Based on their examination of the minutes of the university senate at Tübingen, both Brecht and Edighoffer conclude that Andreae was involved in posting a scandalous pasquill that alluded to a premarital relationship with a bride-to-be whose wedding was to take place at the home of the ducal chancellor, Matthäus Enzlin, who arranged for the investigation and the strong punishments. During the hearings that followed, Andreae admitted complicity in the scandal, but his authorship was never proved; in fact, no one ever claimed authorship and the squib does not survive. All those involved were incarcerated on 31 May 1607.¹⁶ Andreae ultimately had to give up his stipend and leave Tübingen, not however in total disgrace. Faculty testimonials on his behalf show that he was regarded as an eager student.¹⁷ Edighoffer believes in fact that the commission, made up of members of the faculty at Tübingen, showed restraint in an effort to protect the young Andreae and to free him from this predicament; pressure from outside the university, however, forced their hands.¹⁸

In any event, Andreae was compelled to become a wandering scholar-teacher. It may be significant that he went first to Strasbourg, then a Lutheran city, together with his friend, the alchemist Christoph Welling,¹⁹ where he may have first made contact with Lazarus Zetzner, whose printing house was bringing out so many alchemical works as well as the Huser edition of Paracelsus (1602-1605). His next journey was to Heidelberg, then to Frankfurt, and other German cities linked to *Schwärmerei* or religious enthusiasm.²⁰

¹⁵ *Vita*, p. 14 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 22]. He pointed the finger at a few: "N. Heußner from Austria, Sigismund Rhat, and there were some others, who played among the 'graces' [*Veneres*] of that time not a little immoderately and repeatedly; without doubt they also implicated the unguilty. This indecency I also participated in; it was soon discovered as a fraud and led to my punishment." Montgomery, p. 38, interprets this to mean these students were cavorting with prostitutes and Andreae was guilty by association.

¹⁶ Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae," pp. 275-76, citing the minutes of the sessions from 31 May-5 June 1607, in the Universitätsarchiv Tübingen, 2, 8, 52-60. See also Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae," pp. 221-22, and *Rose-Croix*, pp. 188-95.

¹⁷ Richard Kienast, *Johann Valentin Andreae und die vier echten Rosenkreutzer=Schriften* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1926), pp. 241-44, prints the testimonial of the philosophy faculty, signed by Matthias Hafenreffer, and that of the university chancellor Andreas Osiander, 22 September 1907.

¹⁸ Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 222, and *Rose-Croix*, pp. 192-93.

¹⁹ Andreae however thought Welling a fraud and called him a "reckless, faithless man," *Vita*, p. 39 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 60].

²⁰ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 36.

From 1608-1610 he was back in Tübingen as a tutor, but he continued to travel, notably to Geneva in 1611 (where he was impressed by the moral order) and to Italy the next year. In contrast to the detailed accounts of later journeys and friendships in his autobiography—in which he recorded the name seemingly of every important churchman or noble he met and often the occasion—he offered only a sketch of his wanderings between 1606-1614. One biographer suspects Andreae was suppressing certain details to substantiate his claims for orthodoxy during his youth.²¹ From our vantage point in time, it is difficult to gauge precisely the degree to which Andreae rewrote his past; all autobiography is, in part, fictional. The extra-textual evidence of one pivotal episode, the resumption of his theological studies, however, may shed some light on his methods.

In his autobiography he tells us that, just after his expulsion (1607), he formally requested a spiritual place but was turned down; in his despair at ever finding employment in Württemberg, he had given up his theological studies and begun to think of another livelihood.²² During his Italian journey (spring and summer, 1612), though, he decided that he had had enough of the things of this world and vowed to dedicate himself as soon as possible to the church. His mother secured him an introduction to the new duke, Johann Friedrich, who graciously received him and offered secular preferment. Andreae, however, wished to serve the church and asked for a stipend to study at the Tübinger Stift: "because I felt that I had in my wanderings diverted from the right method of holy studies and that so much theology had fallen from my distracted memory, I entreat support, lest I transgress in the holy places of the church with unwashed hands."²³ Here, Andreae's account is strategically incomplete. We do not know just when this audience took place, but more than likely he was dissembling either before Johann Friedrich or his readers. The record shows that he had in fact re-entered the university on 17 August 1611; then he left Tübingen for

²¹ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 40; Arnold, pp. 47-49, has speculated that Andreae travelled as part of secret group (though he has no evidence).

²² *Vita*, p. 16 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 25].

²³ *Vita*, pp. 37-38 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 57-58]: "Id erat, quod cum me sensissem divagationibus meis a recta studiorum sacrorum methodo avocatum et pleraque institutionis theologicae memoriae multum distractae excidissem, ne illotis manibus in ecclesiae sacra irruerem, exoravi. . . ."

an extended Italian journey in the spring and took the ordination examinations in late December 1612, unsuccessfully.²⁴ Since David Christoph Seybold, the first editor and translator of his autobiography, transcribed the relevant entries from the (no longer extant) *Zeugnischbuch* of the Stuttgart Consistory, we know that Andreae was examined 22 December 1612 but was found not well versed enough in biblical readings; further study was recommended before he was ready for the ministry. To prepare for his second examination, he took up residence at the Stift, the Protestant seminary and residential college at Tübingen founded in 1536. (Thus when he approached the duke for a place at the Stift to rectify the “right method of holy studies,” he did so out of dire necessity.) After more than two years of diligent study, the result was far better. On 25 February 1614 he preached again, passed his exams, and was appointed deacon at Vaihingen on the Enz.²⁵ Andreae’s account of these events in his autobiography was thus more favorable. He reported that the Consistory, after their examination, agreed with his plan to enter the Stift, until a place was made vacant in the church. (This same strategy is evident in his representation of his efforts to found societies: he barely mentions the schemes that did not materialize, though the more successful Färberstift was mentioned repeatedly. His self-portrait did not depict many warts, a fact that some of his partisans often overlook.)

Moreover, this second academic setback confirms, in my estimation, that he had not fully reconciled himself to his life’s path. For the grandson of an eminent theologian and the son of a clergyman to be found deficient in his knowledge of the Bible is significant. We have the additional evidence of his play *Turbo*, which depicted a youth who threw away his school books to seek the open road of freedom, only to trade one disappointment for another; the youth eventually finds true freedom in resignation to God’s will. He began

²⁴ Tübingen, II, 67: a note indicates he was made Stipendiarius in 1612 *als hospes nach seiner Peregrination*. *Hospes* was the lowest rank among students at the Stift.

²⁵ *Selbstbiographie*, pp. XVI-XVII: “*M. Joh. Val. Andreae*, des gewesenen Prälaten zu Königsbronn seeligen *filius*, ist den 22. Decembris A. 1612. in einer Predigt gehört, und darauf in *Examine* angesprochen worden, hat man bey ihm befunden, daß er seine *dona*, aber noch der Zeit in *lectione Biblica* nicht wohl versiert, und durch fleißiges studiren ins künftig wol etwas præstiren, und zum *Ministerio* gebraucht werden könnte.” After two years of study: “den 25. Februarii A. 1614. hatt er widerumb geprediget, und ein seine prob gethun, ist zum Diaconat Vaihingen an der Enz verordnet worden.”

this work in August 1611 after returning from one of his long journeys, enrolling at the university, and taking up residence with Matthias Hafenreffer (1561-1619), professor of theology and an old family friend.²⁶ He would seem to have made a decisive break, yet he left for Italy the following spring and failed his examinations when he returned. His real maturation took place at the Stift from 1612-1614. He now believed that he had mended his ways and put an end to the errors and vicissitudes of his life in his twenty-eighth year. He also thanked God for having preserved his chastity inviolate, for having preserved him from the bonds of matrimony four times, and for having restrained his dissipations through want.²⁷ While this may be partly exaggerated for effect, it nonetheless suggests that his appointment at Vaihingen marked a decisive close to the first phase of his life and propelled him towards his life's work.

Since a relative had been paying the exiled Andreae a gulden per essay, his industry with his pen was encouraged. He had already produced a good many youthful works, the best of which, in his view, did not survive.²⁸ These included, I believe, his contributions to the Rosicrucian tracts. The years at Vaihingen from 1614 to 1620 bore still more fruit from his early studies. One project after another was published, some twenty in all, many of which can be described as works of orthodox Lutheran piety. A few of these were certainly in draft form before hand.²⁹ Andreae later referred to the Vaihingen period (1614-1620) as his *Laboratorium* in a letter to his patron, Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg.³⁰ Most of what he wrote had pious intentions: a summary of Hafenreffer's thoughts (1614), an anthology (1615) of the devotional classic *Vier Bücher vom*

²⁶ *Turbo* was published in 1616 at Strasbourg under the pseudonym Andreas de Valentia. Andreae, *Vita*, pp. 27-28 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 42-43], described Hafenreffer as having the same qualities as his father and grandfather. Wilhelm Hoßbach, *Johann Valentin Andreä und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1819), pp. 11-16, showed long ago that *Turbo* was an artistic rendering of the essence of Hafenreffer's *Summa doctrinae Christianae*.

²⁷ *Vita*, p. 43 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 67].

²⁸ Andreae, *Vita*, pp. 18-19 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 29], says that of all his early works, his (not extant) *Theodosius* was the best.

²⁹ E.g., in "Breviarum vitae Andreae," a manuscript listing the major events of his life, Andreae dated the *Chymische Hochzeit* in 1605 (Kienast, pp. 237-40, publishes a transcription); and in the *Vita*, pp. 26-28 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 41-44], he described the circumstances of household he occupied while serving as tutor at Tübingen in 1610 where he produced the *Turbo*.

³⁰ Letter of 1 March 1654, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, MS *Cod. Guelf.* 65.2 *Extrav.*, fol. 356; quoted in Montgomery, p. 52.

wahren Christentum of the Lutheran theologian and mystical writer Johann Arndt, who focused on the work of Christ in the heart of the believer. In *Theca gladii spiritus* (1616), he gathered the inchoate thoughts as a memorial to his friend Hess, who had died in 1614. He also published Latin satires of social and intellectual folly in the tradition of Erasmus, *Turbo* (1616), *Menippus* (1617), the companion pieces *Peregrini in Patria errores* (1618) and *Civis christianus* (1619), and *Mythologiae christianae* (1619). His most famous work *Christianopolis* also appeared in 1619.³¹ The sheer volume of writing attests to the fitness of his term *laboratorium* for this period.

In 1620 he was made superintendent (or chief pastor) of another town in Württemberg, Calw, where he remained until 1639. Looking back at the fruitfulness of Vaihingen, he would regard his days there as the spring and summer of his life, despite the fact that civil discord (with the burning of Vaihingen in 1617 and 1618) and the offenses attributed to him turned his hair gray. Calw too was engulfed by the turmoil and the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, and a fire there (in 1634) destroyed his personal library, papers, and art collection (including paintings by Dürer, Holbein and Cranach given him by the imperial city of Nuremberg).³² His autobiography reveals his efforts to care for his suffering flock in Calw. He also kept up a considerable correspondence during these years and travelled throughout Europe, sometimes on church business, though also to advance his own projects. His was neither a peaceful nor uneventful life – he was fully engaged with the tumultuous world around him in trying to join faith with praxis. One incident in 1634 is of particular interest to us. He had refused holy communion to an unsavory character named Johann Maier, whom Andreae called a whoremonger, glutton, swindler, drunkard, and tool of Satan. Resenting this snub, Maier allied himself with a high public official – also Andreae's foe because of his lifestyle – and together they intrigued against him. Andreae does not provide any specifics, but says that he had not felt this kind scourge for twenty years, when a *falsus frater* applied it.³³ That would be about the time when the

³¹ Bibliographies of his writings can be found in Montgomery, pp. 489–509; van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 279–95; and Edighoffer, *Rose-Croix*, pp. 761–81.

³² *Vita*, pp. 94–95, 144–45 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 92; Seybold does not include any of the descriptions of the conflagration that Rheinwald takes from the *Threni Calvenses* (Strasbourg, 1635)].

³³ *Vita*, p. 129 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 146].

Rosicrucian manifestos were being published.

The diminution in Andreae's original literary output in the 1630s and 1640s reflects conditions of the times and his pastoral responsibilities. The suffering caused by the war necessitated his publishing a plea to aid his parishioners, *Threni Calvenses* (1635). Moved by the tragic losses of his friends during a January 1637 visit to Tübingen, he arranged for his fellow citizens of Calw to contribute 200 gulden annually in support of the Stift. Since he had also arranged support for Duke Eberhardt III (reigned 1633-1674, who had been in exile in Strasbourg since the Habsburg occupation following the defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen in August 1634), Andreae began to preach to the court in Stuttgart upon the duke's return in 1638.³⁴ Having been established in the mid-sixteenth century as a territorial church, the Lutheran church had to administer extensive properties as well as justice, social and educational services. In addition to these responsibilities, Andreae was charged with reorganizing the decimated church in Württemberg in 1638 and was appointed court preacher and church councillor in 1639. He continued his learned correspondence, especially with his new patron Duke August with whom he exchanged letters for a time weekly. His counsel was sought especially by those working to establish Christian brotherhoods or utopian societies.³⁵ Named doctor of theology at Tübingen (1641), he remained at Eberhardt's court until 1650, when he accepted a lighter ecclesiastical appointment as evangelical abbot at Bebenhausen, a former Cistercian cloister converted to a Lutheran school. In February 1654 he was given a titular appointment as abbot of Adelberg, whose cloister had been destroyed in a fire, thus allowing him to retire to Stuttgart where he died on 27 June 1654.

In brief, Andreae was the grandson of a pillar of Lutheran orthodoxy, but the son of a clergyman father who also practiced alchemy (as an apothecary, his mother would have had an allied interest). He received a broad education at Tübingen and participated ac-

³⁴ Andreae had already been on diplomatic missions of sorts: in the Fall 1619 he undertook a secret commission to Austria (his second journey there) to make contact with Protestants who looked to Württemberg as their second fatherland. See *Vita*, pp. 82-94 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 89-90, 366-84].

³⁵ A portion of his vast correspondence with such activists as Jan Amos Comenius, Johann Adolph Tassius, Johann Abraham Pömer, and John Dury will be discussed below.

tively in the intellectual life there; suspected of having written scurrilous verses, he was forced to leave (1607). After his wanderings, he had to spend two years in intense study, after failing his first set of theological exams (1612), during which time he lived at the Tübinger Stift. In 1614 he was ordained and established in the ministry, whereupon he began an energetic, productive career as devotional writer, minister, and utopianist. It seems certain that something decisive occurred in Andreae's intellectual or spiritual life that changed his path either just before or just after his return to Tübingen in 1612. We must now examine the intellectual influences among his circle of friends and professors at Tübingen in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

B. *Intellectual Circles at Tübingen*

One of the distinctive feature of the learned classes in early modern Europe was the circle of literary friends. For Andreae this was more than just a stylization. He loved a sociable house and "visited" with his friends often through his correspondence. His autobiography in large part consists of the naming of old and newly won friends, especially among the nobility. He recorded visits and letters precisely. Eventually he published a selection of the letters exchanged with his patron Duke August as *Seleniana Augustalia* (1649, 1654). His letters tell us much about the Protestant world at this time (and deserve a scholarly edition). While in later years he corresponded more with Lutheran theologians or the court in Wolfenbüttel than with members of the republic of letters, his earlier circle of friends was very differently composed. His houses in Vaihingen and Calw were open to people of all classes: nobles, artisans, scholars, orthodox theologians, and varieties of heterodox, even radical Christians to whom he was curiously drawn throughout his life by a kind of inner sympathy – such as Hess or Jan Amos Comenius. His eloquent memorials and funeral tributes for his confrères, which he had published, tell us much about his own psychosocial needs for these friendships.³⁶

Andreae's experiences as part of various intellectual circles at

³⁶ E.g., *Memorialia* (1619), *In bene meritos gratitudo* (1633), and *Amicorum singularium clarissimorum Funera* (1642).

Tübingen in the first decade of the century were instrumental in shaping such utopian schemes of his as the *Societas Christiana* or *Civitas Solis* and the *Unio Christiana*, and contributed to the legend of the "secret brotherhood" of the Rosicrucians. The atmosphere at Tübingen seems to have encouraged an openness to new ideas, for even Andreae's unquestionably orthodox writings involved an implicit critique of society. The call, in general, for a second reformation found an unusually strong reception among his peers, who were fascinated by apocalyptic-chiliastic ideas and theosophical-hermetic ideas in their dream of a new age. Equally significant was the way in which they shared in the contemporary criticism of a stagnant Lutheran orthodoxy that needed to reemphasize the relationship between theory and praxis. Though many later succeeded to professorships and pastorates based on their Lutheran orthodoxy, at the time they were largely uninterested in the debate with Catholicism and Calvinism, developing rather their own religious-philosophical position. Their common interests included literature, mathematics, astronomy, natural science, and alchemy. As elsewhere in Protestant Europe, Aristotle was being overthrown in the universities and replaced with a more intuitive wisdom of the created world. To gain something of the flavor of this group we need to examine some of its chief members, bearing in mind that Andreae wended his own way among these diverse sets.

The university faculty naturally played a large role in shaping the form of Andreae's thought. Prominent among them was his professor of Latin and Greek, Martin Crusius (1526-1607), a noted philologist who had also tried to reconcile the Greek orthodox church with the Protestants in a spirit of evangelical ecumenicism. Andreae merited passing mention in Crusius's diary (for example, that he and his two brothers were attending Crusius's Cicero lectures in 1603). Since Crusius had translated a series of Jakob Andreae's sermons, it was natural for them to gravitate toward him.³⁷ Most of the theologians Andreae encountered were orthodox Lutherans: Johann Georg Sigwart (1554-1618); Hafenreffer; Andreas Osiander, also chancellor of the university (1562-1617); and Michael Schaefer (1573-1608).³⁸ In addition, Andreae developed an interest in mathe-

³⁷ Montgomery, pp. 31-32, provides these facts on Crusius.

³⁸ Montgomery, pp. 30-31. Andreae's affection for Hafenreffer and Schaefer is evident from his later editing abridgements of their works.

matics and astronomy under Kepler's teacher, Michael Mästlin (1550-1631), keen enough to have published *Collectaneorum mathematicorum decades XI* (Tübingen, 1614), a kind of textbook that illustrated what were then thought to be the branches of mathematics (from algebra to perspective and military formations). In the long view of Andreae's intellectual development, his professors may have contributed the most, though other intellectual currents filled his sails at Tübingen.

Unquestionably, the chiliast and Paracelsian Tobias Hess from Nuremberg (1568-1614), who probably befriended Andreae in 1608, made a decisive contribution in this regard.³⁹ Though he had studied law, Hess turned to medicine and attempted a synthesis of Paracelsus and Simon Studion with Lutheranism. Science and theology, in the Hess circle, were thus amalgamated: iatro-chemistry, alchemy, natural science, occultism, and apocalyptic speculations were wedded to Christian piety and desire for reform. These identical interests, it should be noted, were expressed in the Rosicrucian writings. Because Hess was a jurist practicing medicine without official sanction—Paracelsian medicine not being taught at the university—the medical faculty registered complaints about him, which provide us with an important contemporary view: “Hess is no doctor, but rather an alchemist, a disciple of that impious Paracelsus.”⁴⁰ Hess had enough respectability, however, to be a party to functions at which Crusius was present, who recorded several times in his diary that Hess had made known his views on the imminent fall of the papacy (though Crusius recognized their origins in his former student Studion). Hess gained further notoriety in 1606, when his views (“sonderbahre opinion de tertio quodam saeculo”) were censured, and he was ordered not to spread them through secret writing.⁴¹

³⁹ Hess matriculated at Tübingen on 12 November 1587 and received a doctorate in law in 1592, *Tübingen*, I, 656. van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 48-59, also regards Hess as the most decisive influence in the second phase of his studies (1607-1614); Brecht, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” pp. 280-88, recognizes his importance, as does Edighoffer, *Rose-Croix*, 198-202. van Dülmen, p. 58, lists Thomas Lansius, Wilhelm Schickhardt, Johannes Stoffel, Besold, and, above all, Abraham Hölzel as known members of Hess's circle.

⁴⁰ Universitätsarchiv Tübingen, 20, 3a, 1 (1599); quoted in Brecht, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” p. 281: “Heß sei kein Mediziner, sondern ein alchymista potius, impii illius Paracelsi discipulus.”

⁴¹ Martin Crusius, *Diarium*, Wilhelm Göz, Ernst Conrad, et al., ed. 4 vols. (Tü-

Hess was evidently the conduit for the apocalyptic-chiliasm of Simon Studion (1543-1604). Indeed Crusius's diary reveals that not only was Hess in contact with Studion, but Hess himself also lent Studion various works on prophecy.⁴² Studion's two-thousand page "Naometria" (Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS, *Cod. theol. et philos.* 4^o 23) was his life's work. Based on prophecies from Ezekiel, Daniel and Revelation, "Naometria" predicted the crucifixion of the last pope in 1612, the imminent destruction of the world, the beginning of Christ's millennial kingdom in 1620, and the proclamation of the New Jerusalem (called also Heliopolis and Civitas Solis). Studion's subtitle promised knowledge of the *clavis* or secret "key" of David, which the author of Revelation had also received and which could open and measure the temple and altar of God—hence the title (ναος being Greek for temple). It presented an inner and outer temple, symbolically Scripture and Nature, the two books of revelation. Studion also gave mystical and prophetic significance to the rose and cross.⁴³ More will be said about the relationship of the Rosicrucian writings to the "Naometria" below; suffice it to say that whoever wrote the *Fama* and *Confessio* was quite familiar with Studion's work.

In addition to Studion, other esoteric writers with whom Hess was familiar included Julius Sperber and Aegidius Gutmann.⁴⁴ Sperber (d. 1615) wrote *Der geheime Tractatus von den dreyen Seculis* and *Mysterium magnum*, a theosophy of divine revelation. His *Echo der von Gott hocheerleuchteten Fraternitet deß löblichen Ordens R. C.* was published as an answer to the *Fama* in 1615. Likening himself to another Ezra, the Swabian theosophist-Paracelsist Gutmann (1490-1584) wrote about the expected end of the Roman church in *Offenbarung göttlicher Majestät* (written in 1575, published in 1619) and hoped for a return to Adamic wisdom where Scripture and the book of Nature were one. The influence of Paracelsus was also central to the Hess circle,

bingen: Laupp, 1927-1961), is an important primary source. The entries (24 November 1597, 9 September 1598, 20 November 1598, 12 November 1601) were all near the beginning of the academic year. For Hess's censure, see Universitätsarchiv Tübingen, 6, 25, Visitationrezeß 1606; quoted in Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 283.

⁴² See the entry for 20 November 1598, *Diarium*, II, 135.

⁴³ Karl R. H. Frick, *Die Erleuchteten: Gnostisch-theosophische und alchemistisch-rosenkreuzerische Geheimgesellschaften bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1973), p. 149.

⁴⁴ See Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, pp. 253-57, 72-73; van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 50.

with the Huser edition (Strasbourg, 1602-1605) helping to create a Paracelsian renaissance at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Along with Hess, a further conduit for Paracelsianism came through Benedict Figulus, a Franconian alchemist who appeared in Tübingen in Andreae's circle in 1606-1608 and who published numerous hermetic-chemical writings in this same time frame, especially *Rosarium novum Olympicum et benedictum* (1608), who was respectable enough for Crusius to have supported his studies with a stipend.⁴⁵ A popularizer of Paracelsian ideas, Figulus believed that the microcosm bore two sets of influences (magnets), one from the elements and the other from the influence of the stars; magicians and cabalists could tap a third, the image of God in the soul, that would reveal an esoteric wisdom.⁴⁶ Andreae's later jibes at enthusiasts and mystics who speak such esoteric tongues as the "Fessana" or "Damcarica lingua" (the Fez and Damcar of the *Fama*) confirms these authors—Sperber, Valentin Weigel, Gutmann, Sebastian Franck, Guillaume Postel, and Studion are specifically listed—as sources for the Rosicrucian fable.⁴⁷

How influential then was such a figure as Hess for Andreae in his youth? Andreae himself provides ample evidence about his friendship with Hess that, when taken together, is quite decisive. Later editions of *De Christiani Cosmoxeni genitura* (1615, 1619) were dedicated to Hess (*à tuo sincero fratre*) who would have recognized in that work's emphasis on the correspondence between the Book of Nature with its microcosmic-macrocosmic relationships to the Book of the Word views similar to his own.⁴⁸ Hess was the model for Andreae's *Herculis christiani luctae XXIV* (1615), even though, according to van Dülmen, he did not dare to praise him openly.⁴⁹ In an apologia after Hess's death in 1614, Andreae stated that like Galen and Paracelsus, Hess only gazed on the divine characters stamped in the

⁴⁵ See the 23 January 1604 entry in Crusius's *Diarium*, III, 668. Will-Erich Peuckert, *Pansophie: Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weissen und schwarzen Magie*, 2nd. ed. (Berlin: Schmidt, 1956), pp. 360-61, sees parallels between Figulus and the *Fama*.

⁴⁶ See van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁷ Andreae, *Mythologiae christianae . . . libri tres* (Strasbourg, 1619), pp. 137-38.

⁴⁸ In the 3rd ed., *De Christiani Cosmoxeni Genitura, Judicium* (Strasbourg, 1619) [bound with *Civis Christianus*], p. 196, Andreae signed the dedication. In his *Vita*, p. 45-46 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 70], Andreae related that the first edition of this work was published without his knowledge, so it probably had no dedication. I have been unable to locate a copy.

⁴⁹ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 56.

great Book of the Creatures that had been placed there for mankind to read.⁵⁰ He defended Hess's esotericism as in no way compromising the fundamentals of his faith and offered a short sketch of his personality in *Mythologiae Christianae*. The citations from Andreae's *De Christiani Cosmoxeni* and the *Invitatio fraternitatis Christi* (not published until the following year) in his tribute to Hess, *Theca gladii spiritus*, indicates how closely they worked together. His lasting devotion to Hess is clear from his later autobiography, where he spoke loftily of Hess as *viro omnigena rerum cognitione et fervida pietate incomparabili* and as a *Hercules Christianus* with whom he wanted to establish an *intimum amoris foedus, et societas*.⁵¹

Next to Hess the second figure was Christoph Besold (1577-1638), one of the luminaries of the university.⁵² He reputedly had the command of nine languages and read deeply in theology, theosophy, and apocalyptic-prophetical writings. Since his personal library (around 3870 volumes) still exists as part of the university library at Salzburg, we can continue to appreciate his intellectual breadth, especially in unorthodox writings.⁵³ Besold was similar to Kepler in his deeply religious, irenic personality; he longed for a

⁵⁰ "Tobiae Hessi . . . Immortalitas," (1614) in *Memorialia* (Strasbourg, 1619), p. 57: "ut . . . hinc artis Pæoniæ methodum, præceptaque, inde examen, sive tentamen verius, oculis usurparet, manibus palparet, atque adeò divinas literas creaturis hinc inde impressas jucundissimâ anatomîâ intueretur."

⁵¹ Andreae, *Vita*, pp. 20, 46 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 31-32, 70-71]. Indeed Hess was among the members of the Societas christiana Andreae listed for Duke August in his letter of 27 June 1642, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav.* fol. 17; ed. Jan Kvačala, *Die pädagogische Reform des Comenius in Deutschland bis zum Ausgange des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Hofmann, 1903-1904), I, 182-84.

⁵² Besold was born in Tübingen, where he matriculated on 12 March 1591, receiving the baccalaureate in 1592 and doctorate of laws in 1599; he was made professor of law in 1610, *Tübingen*, I, 682. On 1 August 1630 after long deliberation, he converted to catholicism, declaring so publicly after Nördlingen, whereupon he joined the faculty at Ingolstadt (1636) and was made "kaiserlicher und chur=bayerischer Rat." For details, see Zedler III, 1499-1500; Jöcher, I, 1049-50; *ADB*, II, 556-58; and Kienast, pp. 21-33.

⁵³ In his *Vita*, p. 12 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 20], Andreae noted that in addition to the instruction from the mathematician Maestlin, "accessit Christophori Besoldi et incredibilis humanitas et inexhausta beneficentia cum bibiotheca supra privatam sortem instructissima, cujus in me singula merita omnem meam commendationem excedunt." For the library van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 59-60, reports the following totals: in philosophy-philology (611 volumes), medicine (162), history (555), Spanish, French and Italian literature (426), Roman Catholic theology (431), Protestant theology (544), Hebraic literature (103), law (740), and politics (304). Works by Cusa, Franck, Alsted, Bodin, Fludd, Paracelsus, Crollius, Sennert, Rulandus, and a substantial collection of Rosicrucian writings show the catholicity of his reading.

church that was equally pietistic. According to Besold's biographers, the turning point in his break with orthodox Lutheranism came through Arndt's *True Christianity*, which led to him to change some fundamental beliefs.⁵⁴ When he turned to Rome late in his life, Andreae was particularly distressed by the decision.⁵⁵ While Andreae was a divinity student, he was attracted to Besold's learning, affability and goodness, dedicating his *Herculis christiani luctae XXIV* to Besold and listing him as a member of the *Societas Christiana* of 1618-1619. Besold doubtlessly introduced Boccacini's Lucianic satire (Venice, 1612) to Tübingen, for he translated selections of it in his *Signa Temporum* (1614), which discussed the contemporary political scene and attacked the Jesuits as a sect whose mysteries and cabala needed to be disclosed.⁵⁶ Three years later his translation of Boccacini's entire work appeared as *Relation ausz Parnasso. oder Politische und Moralsche discours, wie dieselbe von allerley welthändeln darinnen ergehen* (Tübingen, 1617). A comparison of the twenty-sixth chapter of this later work with the *Allgemeine und General Reformation* reveals clearly that Besold provided the translation for the *editio princeps* of the first manifesto.

One other major influence must be mentioned in this sketch of Andreae's intellectual background, the stimulus provided by Arndt (1555-1621).⁵⁷ With his focus on the work of Christ in the heart of the believer and his notion of practical Christianity, Arndt is now seen as a precursor to German pietism. Heiko Oberman explains that Arndt followed in the tradition of Hus and Luther but empha-

⁵⁴ T. Spittler, "Über Christoph Besolds Religionsveränderung," in *Patriotisches Archiv für Deutschland* 8 (1788):429-472; the statement is on p. 451; cited by van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 61.

⁵⁵ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 155 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 163], referred to his conversion as *mors Besoldi spiritualis*. van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 55, has a revealing statement from Besold on how the anti-Catholic, apocalyptic atmosphere in 1606 at Tübingen clouded his ability to value Catholicism.

⁵⁶ *Signa Temporum: seu, succincta et aperta, rerum post religionis Reformationem, ad hoc ævi in Europâ gestarum, judicatio* (Tübingen, 1614), pp. 92-99.

⁵⁷ Arndt studied medicine then theology at Helmstadt (1576), at Wittenberg (1577) under Polycarp Leyser (senior), at Strasbourg (1578), and at Basel (1579-1580). He became general superintendent at Zelle (near Hannover) in 1611 under the patronage of the dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. In the last decade of his life he was involved in extensive correspondence for church reform. The *ADB* article states that he was never involved with the *Schwärmerei* or enthusiastical mysticism, for he believed that "true Christianity" must be grounded in Scripture and he believed in church structure. See Jöcher I, 552-53; and *ADB*, I, 548-52.

sized that the doctrine of justification by faith ought not to preclude good works. His brand of "mystical theology" brought a practical theology in opposition to arid theological speculation.⁵⁸ His now classic *True Christianity* was compiled from various mystical and devotional writers, some of whom were considered heterodox or even heretical in their own right: the Umbrian mystic Angela of Foligno, the *Theologia Germanica*, Thomas à Kempis, Paracelsus, Raimond Sebond, Johann Tauler, and Valentin Weigel.⁵⁹ This devotional work had a powerful effect on those who believed a second reformation was needed in order to renew the inner life. Andreae's preparation of an anthology entitled *Christianismus genuinus . . . Johannis Arndt* (1615) – and the second edition he brought out in 1644 – is, therefore, one indication of the lasting impression this work made on Andreae and his age by emphasizing that "true Christianity" required a living, practical faith that would lead to suitable fruits of righteousness. It should be noted that Arndt nowhere recommended spiritual brotherhoods or cloistered retreat from the world. Andreae's circles were filled with like-minded men who had been inspired by Arndt's vision of renewal who then banded together to make it possible.

Having finished with his magister exams in February 1605, Andreae would have been free to pursue his intellectual fancies under the stimulus or guidance of such friends as Besold and Hess. The results of his theological exams in 1612 offer evidence that he was not assiduously studying theology and the Bible during this time. Though we have no way of knowing just what he read, his *Chymische Hochzeit* reveals that he was familiar with one of the major currents of esoteric wisdom, spiritual alchemy. We can accordingly assume, with some degree of safety, that he was cognizant of basic tenets of mystical theology and of the apocalyptic chiliasm of Studion through Hess. In the intellectually charged atmosphere of Tübingen, influences from other confessions were also felt. Campanella's German disciple Tobias Adami, for example,

⁵⁸ Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, trans. and introd. Peter Erb with pref. Heiko Oberman (London: SPCK, 1979), pp. xv, 6-7.

⁵⁹ The first book of the *True Christianity* came out in 1605 (with a good edition in 1606); in 1610 the four books were published. By the year of his death (1621) twenty editions had appeared. For Arndt's sources, see Edmund Weber, *Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum" als Beitrag zur protestantischen Irenik des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, 3rd. ed. (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1978).

brought manuscripts to Tübingen between 1611 and 1613 and published them there.⁶⁰ It would be misleading, however, to conceive of the intellectual circles that Andreae frequented in Tübingen as homogeneous. Neither Hess nor Besold were the center of a “pan-sophical circle,” to which Andreae paid fealty, as some have suggested.⁶¹ Moreover, since he had to assume the role of wandering scholar following his expulsion from Tübingen, he would certainly have been exposed to other stimuli.⁶² Thus, though we have no direct evidence, we can easily imagine how and why a bright young man such as Andreae would have sacrificed his theological studies for more exotic, more mysterious, more abstruse pursuits at a time marked by anticipation and activism. The evidence, however strong, remains only circumstantial.

Likewise, we can conjecture about the return to theological studies in the years 1612-1614. We know that he renewed his dedication to the church during his Italian journey (1612), feeling that he had had enough of the things of this world; we know that he took up residence at the Tübinger Stift upon his return late in 1612; and we know he felt as if he had passed a great climacteric in his life when he received the call to Vaihingen in 1614. The best explanation – and the simplest – has been put forward by Brecht, who argues that Andreae came more firmly under the influence of Hafenreffer, a pillar of Lutheran orthodoxy. Andreae had lodged with Hafenreffer in 1611, after having convinced Philipp Eberhard von Gemmingen, whose son he was tutoring, to set them all up in Tübingen.⁶³ Brecht views Andreae in 1611-1612 as an outsider whom no one wanted, a view Andreae himself took in his *Mora philologica* (1611).⁶⁴ Hafenreffer (who had in fact baptized him in Herrenberg while serving as deacon there) became his “second fa-

⁶⁰ We also know that Andreae’s close friend Wilhelm Wense visited Campanella in prison in Naples in 1614; he suggested that Andreae’s proposed Christian Union be called the City of the Sun.

⁶¹ Kienast, pp. 21-26, has attempted to make Besold into the source of all of Andreae’s mysticism; Besold was moreover made into a non-Christian, eastern-style mystic. See also Arnold, *Rose-Croix*.

⁶² Harald Scholtz, *Evangelischer Utopismus bei Johann Valentin Andreae: Ein geistiges Vorspiel zum Pietismus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1957), describes the “European format” of his writings that result from these wanderings in more detail.

⁶³ *Vita*, pp. 26-27 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 41-42].

⁶⁴ Published as part of *In bene meritis gratitudo* (Strasbourg, 1633); see Brecht, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” pp. 292-98.

ther." According to Brecht, he checked Andreae's tendencies toward perfectionism, reminding him that reason has its boundaries. Andreae was allowed to wander in literary realms but was guided by Hafenreffer's educational ideal: language, mathesis, history, and piety. Brecht concludes that:

In Andreae's own development the association with Hafenreffer marks his surmounting of the Rosicrucian phase and the formulation of his own program. At the same time he won the confidence to reach the right path with his own judgment even though not unchallenged.⁶⁵

We know from the autobiography that Andreae was assiduously studying an orthodox theological program, of the sort the biblically centered Hafenreffer would have approved: Jerome, Augustine, Luther, Erasmus, and Hyperius.⁶⁶ At this time he was compiling a "summa" of Hafenreffer for popular use, entitled *Doctrinae christianae summa: ex Hafenrefferi Locis communibus contracta* (1614). That Hafenreffer remained a life-long influence is furthered evidenced by Andreae's publication of a second edition of this work in 1644.

No less significant may be the fact that Andreae boarded at the well-known Tübinger Stift, founded in 1536 to provide for poor, pious, industrious, God-fearing students of theology.⁶⁷ Among its alumni are numbered Andreae's professors Mästlin, Hafenreffer and Schaefer (and such luminaries as Kepler, Lessing, Ranke, and Nietzsche). Several of the fellows at the Stift became lifelong friends, correspondents, and supporters of his *Societas Christiana*. His appointment as stipendarius can be reckoned the first official step back into the Lutheran fold. His later attempts to help support the Stift during the war, as we have seen, attest to his affection for the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere there. It would be mistaken, however, to assume that his fellowship caused him to sever all links with the past.⁶⁸ His was a gradual turning, fostered, I shall argue,

⁶⁵ Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 296: "In Andreaes eigener Entwicklung markiert die Studienberatung durch Hafenreffer die Überwindung der Rosenkreuzerphase und die Formulierung seines eigentlichen Programms. Zugleich gewann er das Vertrauen, mit seinem Wissen an den rechten Platz zu kommen, wenn auch nicht unangefochten."

⁶⁶ *Vita*, p. 42 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 65].

⁶⁷ Andreae entered the Stift in late 1612 when he returned from Italy. On the Stift, see Martin Leube, *Geschichte des Tübinger Stifts*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Scheufele, 1921, 1930, 1936).

⁶⁸ For example, Besold, Wilhelm Wense and Abraham Hölzel participated in the

by his reaction against what the “secret brotherhood” of the Rosicrucians had become in the public eye. Before we can pursue that story, however, a prior question must be answered: what had Andreae and his associates done to further their utopian goals?

C. Andreae's Protestant Brotherhoods & the Republic of Letters

We now know that from about 1613 Andreae and his circle were actively trying to found a utopian brotherhood to renew the inner life of the Lutheran church and to reform society in some general way. Until the past few decades, our knowledge of Andreae's utopian efforts came from the sketches in the disputed Rosicrucian manifestos, his celebrated utopia *Christianopolis* (1619), the few surviving copies of *Veræ unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen* (Nuremberg, 1628), and references in his letters to an actual *Societas Christiana* or *Civitas Solis*. Presumed missing were his two known utopian tracts, *Christianae societatis imago*, published anonymously in Strasbourg (1619; Tübingen, 1620), and *Christiani amoris dextera porrecta* (Tübingen, 1620; Strasbourg, 1621). G. H. Turnbull subsequently discovered manuscript copies among the papers of Samuel Hartlib and found that Hartlib had had them translated by John Hall and published in 1647 at Cambridge as *A Modell of a Christian Society* and *The Right Hand of Christian Love Offered*.⁶⁹ Copies of the 1620 editions are now known to exist in Wolfenbüttel.⁷⁰ These plans appear to have circulated widely as scribal publications. In addition to the German supporters Andreae counted among the members, Joachim Morsius sent copies to twelve prominent men in 1629. Hartlib had received his own copy from Jan Amos Comenius, who

“Collegium mathematicum” at the Stift, which led to one of Andreae's first published works in 1614. Besold dedicated his *Axiomata philosophico-theologica* (1616) to Andreae; this collection of aphorisms served as the model for Andreae's *Theca*.

⁶⁹ G. H. Turnbull, “Johann Valentin Andreaes *Societas Christiana*,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 73 (1954):407-32; 74 (1955):151-85. On Andreae's society-building, see also Jan Kvačala, *J. V. Andrea's Antheil an geheimen Gesellschaften* (Jurjew: Mattiesen, 1899); and van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*.

⁷⁰ Herzog August Bibliothek Signatur 1339.7 Theol is a small (6x9 cm) octavo volume with both 1620 Tübingen editions, bound in calf and embossed with the initials A. H. Z. B. V. L. [August, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg]. Though it was entered in the library catalogue in 1665 as an anonymous entry, it probably was the copy sent by Morsius to the duke, who kept his own library catalogue until his accession.

planned to enlist several other supporters from his Bohemian circle. Hartlib himself disseminated the idea widely among his London circle. Not only do we now have the blueprint for this practical society, but its very existence sheds light on the utopian movement and Andreae's life-long efforts to implement it in the republic of letters.

Most of what we previously knew derived from Andreae's 27 June 1642 letter to Duke August, reporting on his past attempts to found this society for the spiritual and educational improvement of society. Since he specifically mentioned the Rosicrucians in this letter and listed the members of the society, we need to examine this key document carefully.

It has been twenty-three or four years [i.e., 1618 or 1619], since with the help and stimulus of Wilhelm Wense, Knight of Lüneburg, a most choice friend, I formed this *Image of a Certain Christian Society*, which, I had intended, we could place in opposition to the unworthy mockery of the fiction of the Rosicrucian Fraternity. Afterwards this was printed in 1620, not that it might give laws to others, but that it might supply material for the wise and careful reader. You alone were already then intended as leader and head of this in our minds, for which Wense had believed that he could be the negotiator, since there is no one else in the German world, to whom this Christian matter and the province of letters could be committed more surely and with greater dignity. But soon came those times [the Thirty Years' War], which declared war on religion and literature, as well as honest friendship and society; and moreover with the blazing fire in Germany, they turned into ashes all this labor, and even for example this little book. A few [twenty-four were listed with their city of origin], to whom the *Christiani amoris dextra porrecta* reached, were dispersed amidst torments and exile.⁷¹

Two matters are crucial here. First, he made his attitude towards the furor caused by the publication of the Rosicrucian tracts quite clear, since the *Imago* and the *Societas Christiana* were meant to counter it. Furthermore, he characterized the furor as *ludibrium*—a toy or jest, an object of derision or mockery—and as *fictitia* or fiction. Those who would make Andreae the mystical founder of the “secret brotherhood” must thus somehow construe these words so that

⁷¹ Letter from Andreae to Duke August, 27 June 1642, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 65.1 *Extrav.* fol. 17; ed. Kvačala, I, 182–83. The key phrase is “informem hanc Societatis alicujus Christianae imaginem, machinatus sum, quam fictitiae Fraternitatis Rosicruciae ludibrio indigno opponeremus.”

they mean something else.⁷² Second, the letter raises intriguing problems about dating. The dates for the composition of the *Imago* in 1618-1619 seem reliable: just before the start of the war and just after the publication of the *Fama* (1614) and *Confessio* (1615). The society itself, however, must have been in existence several years earlier, since Hess died on 24 November 1614 but is listed as a supporter.⁷³ Many on that list—among them Hess, Besold and Adami—have long been considered the most likely authors.⁷⁴ If it can be demonstrated that the group involved in the *Civitas Solis* included those who composed the manifestos, then we can perhaps look at the Rosicrucian fable as the first phase of Andreae's continuing utopian enterprise. The other two accounts of the founding of this society also support the notion that Andreae was active in a Christian utopian society by 1613-1614 when he first met Wense, which led to the *Imago* (1619).

The second document is Andreae's funeral tribute to Wense, who shared his enthusiasm for mathematics and Arndt's own practical Christianity. Here Andreae gave a fuller description of the genesis of this society that had been ultimately inspired by Arndt, whom Andreae here declared his patron and father in Christ:

To accomplish this end Wense worked to bring together in a kind of society a certain number of men, who could and would work for the betterment of the age. Dispersed throughout Germany, they would still meet with each other in an exchange of ideas in the bonds of friendship and advise ways to remedy the corruption in science and in the Christian life. For at a time when a certain fabulous fraternity had befuddled inquisitive minds, he believed that the right moment had arisen to reply (as I mentioned in my *Christianopolis*, p. 15), "If these reforms seem proper, why do we not try them ourselves? Let us not wait for them to do it'—meaning that there was nothing to hinder us from learning these things from the Gospels and making the attempt from the praiseworthy examples of devoted Christians, if we really wished to imitate the life of Christ and improve our daily lives." From these considerations were

⁷² See, e.g., Waite, *Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Rider & Son, 1924), p. 187, who argues that *ludibrium* should be translated as "fantasy."

⁷³ Probably no earlier than 1613, since his friendship with Wilhelm Wense began then. Listing Hess could have been a mistake, but the presence of occultists on this list still creates problems. Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 236, also notes this discrepancy; see *Rose-Croix*, pp. 198, 392-94.

⁷⁴ Arnold, *Histoire des Rose-Croix*, pp. 44-67, 85-116, believes many of them were collaborators with Andreae.

born the two *Invitationes ad fraternitatem Christi*, as well as two small books, the *Christianae Societatis imago* and the *Christiani amoris dextera porrecta*. These came from my hand, though he agreed with their thrust. We named the society *Civitas Solis*, with the mutual intention of uniting a certain number of orthodox Lutherans, of excellent judgment and character (but without discrimination as to family or fortune, though all Germans), under a kind of rule and head. We had decided upon Augustus of Lüneburg, that phoenix of princes and the personification of our whole plan. Together they could apply themselves earnestly to the cultivation of true religion, the improvement of dissolute morals, and the restoration of a literary culture with mutual encouragement. The wealthy should contribute the material means, the less well-to-do their labors, and so the individual members would draw the fruits of Christian love, honorable pleasure, and mutual help. To this plan others had already agreed: in Tübingen Wilhelm Schickhardt, in Strasbourg Matthias Bernegger, in Linz Johann Kepler, in Altdorf Daniel Schwenter, and at other places still others in consequence of my and Christoph Besold's agitations. But then the storm of the German calamity fell upon us, and disturbed all of these, in my opinion not at all unpraiseworthy, endeavors, and frustrated my whole Christianopolis.⁷⁵

First of all, this statement is remarkable for the explicit support it concedes to the reforms announced in the *Fama* and *Confessio*, the key passage also appearing in the preface to his *Christianopolis* (1619). Andreae also seems to differentiate between the "fabulous fraternity" gaining ground in Germany and the *Fama* (which, after all, he had helped draft). We learn further that Wense and Andreae intended that theirs would be a learned society (named after Campanella's utopia), dedicated to analyzing and remedying the corrupt conditions both in literature and in Christian life.⁷⁶ Since its members were not gathered together in a single body, their fellowship would be largely epistolary. Still this account does not resolve the problems with the dating, since the *Invitatio* was already published in 1617, i.e., before the dates offered in the letter to Duke August, and the furor over the "deceitful fraternity" began in 1614. That Wense had met Campanella during his travels in Italy in 1614-1616 might suggest a later date, but Adami had introduced

⁷⁵ Andreae, *Amicorum singularium clarissimorum Funera, condecorata* (Lüneburg, 1642), pp. 7-9. He referred to a key passage from his preface to *Christianopolis*, p. 138 in the Held edn.

⁷⁶ In his 26 March 1645 letter to Duke August, Andreae also stated that the society was named by Wense at the suggestion of Adami; quoted in van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 247 n. 10.

Campanella's work to Tübingen in 1613, an enthusiastic response to which could account for the name of their society.

The third document is Andreae's 15 September 1629 letter to Comenius, which traced the society's origins and included the plans for the society, i.e., a manuscript copy of the *Imago*.⁷⁷

We were a few men of good standing, who came together after the mockery [*ludibrium*] of the vain report [*fama*] about eight years before, and there were more still in arms. But the unrest in Germany surprised and nearly destroyed us. Many, drawn to a better country, deserted us: hence some mourned, some were involved in the uproar, others despaired—I shortened the sails. Only we few have remained, more panting for a happy outcome, than sufficient to clean the Augean stables. And so we hand the tables of our shipwreck to be read by you and improved, if it pleases: it would be blessing enough if we shall not have failed altogether in our great enterprise.⁷⁸

Once again, his dating does not hold up to scrutiny: *Qui post famae vanae ludibrium . . . ante octennium circiter*. "About eight years before" cannot refer literally to eight years before the writing of the 1629 letter (i.e., 1621) since the society existed long before then. It could refer to a period eight years after the appearance of the *Fama*, for which two possibilities exist: 1622, eight years after its publication; or 1615-1616, eight years after it was written and circulated in manuscript.

This evidence is not conclusive. However, dating this utopian brotherhood so ambiguously and listing Hess as a member—whom he had eulogized as *Utopiensis Princeps*—seem to indicate that Andreae was involved in it long before 1619.⁷⁹ The fact that most of

⁷⁷ Comenius had written Andreae asking to be a member of the society even though he was neither German nor Lutheran. Andreae responded on 4 September 1628 that he was an exhausted fighter who could no longer do battle; Comenius answered on 20 July 1629, urging him on and asking for admission for three friends. Andreae replied on 15 September that if Comenius was so anxious to strive for the improvement of society he would not stand in his way. Comenius made some marginal notes to himself on the letter, designating that Andreae had enclosed two manuscripts: "NB. Cujus scilicet Imaginem, et Leges communicaverat" (Kvačala, I, 11).

⁷⁸ Printed in Kvačala, I, 11. Comenius printed extracts of several of these letters in *Novissima linguarum methodus*, in *Opera Didactica Omnia: ab anno 1627 ad 1657 continuata* (Amsterdam, 1657), II, 283-84. In the text of the 15 September 1629 letter, he identified parenthetically "Famæ vanæ" as *Fraternitatis Rosæ*, signifying that he knew exactly what Andreae meant.

⁷⁹ His funeral tribute, "Tobiae Hessi . . . Immortalitas," was published with some others in *Memorialia* (Strasbourg, 1619), p. 69.

those listed were long time members of the Besold-Hess circles, in my estimation, indicates that he thought of the *Societas Christiana* as an ongoing initiative, so he was careless about the dating. The efforts towards the utopian brotherhood described in the letter to Duke August or the funeral tribute were not different in kind from the efforts made in the days when the *Fama* was drafted. As we shall see, Andreae never repudiated the ideals of the manifestos; he merely repudiated – at a time when the so-called “secret brotherhood” of the Rosicrucians had become the butt of many jokes – the use to which these ideals had been put. The projected *Civitas Solis* or *Societas Christiana*, in other words, emerged quite likely from the common interests of his Tübingen circle in 1613-1614 and was then given more formal status later through his two 1619 tracts. Those who were newly interested in participating, such as the Austrians, were added to a list of those who had long supported the idea of such a learned society – or who indeed had studied, worked, and written together. (How this society differed from the brotherhood described in the manifestos will be discussed in the following chapter.)

Of the twenty-four men listed as members in the letter to Duke August (and the two additional from the funeral tribute to Wense), fourteen were connected to Andreae through Tübingen. Nearly all achieved distinction in their own fields. Several were at the Stift with him: Wilhelm Schickhardt, later professor of Hebrew and mathematics (and inventor of a calculating machine),⁸⁰ Johann Jakob Heinlin, later professor of mathematics;⁸¹ and the cleric Erhard Machtolph.⁸² Andreae also met Johannes Saubert at

⁸⁰ Schickhardt (1592-1635), like Andreae, was born in Herrenberg; he matriculated at Tübingen on 23 March 1607; was baccalaureus in 1609 and magister in 1611; entered the Stift in January 1610, *Tübingen*, II, 40. From 1614-1619 he was a deacon before returning to Tübingen as professor of Hebrew on 6 August 1619, *Tübingen*, II, 121; he mastered Syrian, Chaldean, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. He was also appointed to the chair in mathematics in 1631 at Mästlin's death. Considered a universal genius, he corresponded with a European audience on mathematics (especially on logarithms), astronomy, meteorology, and oriental languages. See Jöcher, IV, 262-63; and *ADB*, XXXI, 174-75.

⁸¹ Heinlin or Hainlin (1588-1660) matriculated at Tübingen on 13 September 1605; was baccalaureus in 1606 and magister in 1609; entered the Stift in May 1607, *Tübingen*, II, 30. In 1621 he was instructed in mathematics by Kepler; after Schickhardt's death held lectures on mathematics at Tübingen. See Jöcher, II, 1325; *ADB*, XI, 371.

⁸² Machtolph (c. 1590-1638) matriculated at Tübingen on 22 June 1608; was baccalaureus in 1609 and magister in 1611; entered the Stift in January 1610, *Tübingen*,

Tübingen when he studied there from 1612-1614.⁸³ Other students acquaintances included Wilhelm Bidenbach, who hailed from a well-known family of theologians in Württemberg, but who became a professor of law;⁸⁴ Thomas Wegelin, Lutheran professor of theology at Strasbourg;⁸⁵ Balthasar Göckel, minister and educator in Ulm,⁸⁶ and Konrad Dieterich, theologian and pastor at Ulm.⁸⁷ In addition to Hess and Besold, other members of their circles at Tübingen listed were the aristocrat Wense, whom Andreae met at Bad Griesbach in 1613 at a mathematical colloquium,⁸⁸ and Tobias Adami, later privy councillor in Weimar, who was in Tübingen about 1613 or 1614.⁸⁹

II, 49. In 1612 he was *praeceptor* at Bebenhausen; then at Calw with Andreae from 1620-1623; from 1627 he was pastor and general superintendent at Durlach (near Karlsruhe) and professor of Hebrew at the Gymnasium there. See Jöcher, Supplement, IV, 316.

⁸³ Born in Nuremberg, Saubert (1592-1646) studied at Altdorf before beginning theological studies at Tübingen on 10 March 1612 under Osiander and Hafenreffer, *Tübingen*, II, 71. See chapter four for a fuller biography.

⁸⁴ Bidenbach (c. 1585-) matriculated at Tübingen on 25 January 1602 and was at the Stift from 1604-1607, *Tübingen*, II, 10. In 1618 he returned to Tübingen, receiving a doctorate in law; he was named professor of law in 1628, *Tübingen*, II, 109, 176.

⁸⁵ Originally from Augsburg, Wegelin (1577-1629) studied theology first at Wittenberg in 1596, *Wittenberg*, II, 431, before entering Tübingen on 17 April 1608 to receive a doctorate and become professor of history, *Tübingen*, II, 47. From 1611-1623 he was in service to the Lutheran church and the schools at Pforzheim and Baden, then professor of theology at Strasbourg (1623). See Jöcher IV, 1846-47; and *ADB*, XLI, 426.

⁸⁶ Göckel (1581-1656) matriculated at Tübingen 27 March 1598; was baccalaureus in 1599 and magister in 1601, where he may have been at the Stift, *Tübingen*, I, 744. He wrote several works against Bellarmine while at Tübingen (1604-1605), through which Andreae may have known of him. Later he became minister and headmaster at the Gymnasium at Ulm. See Jöcher, II, 1030; and Albrecht Weyermann, *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und andern merckwürdigen Personen aus Ulm* (Ulm, 1798), pp. 263-64.

⁸⁷ Dieterich (1575-1639), from Hessen, studied at Marburg; was baccalaureus in 1593 and magister in 1595; and became professor of theology at the newly founded University of Gießen from 1605-1614, then moved to Ulm as superintendent; in 1620 he helped found the Gymnasium there. He was well known for his theological writings, and Andreae praised him as a veteran theologian and regretted having lost his commentaries, *Vita*, p. 130 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 148]. See Zedler, VII, 863-64; and *ADB*, V, 157.

⁸⁸ Wilhelm von der Wense (d. 1642) was from Lüneburg and though his name does not appear on the matriculation rolls, he was a member for a time of the Hess-Besold circle at Tübingen. In the name of the house of Sachsen-Altenburg of Vienna, Wense received "die Reichs=Lehen" in 1621 from the Kaiser Ferdinand II and became the Fürstlich=Altenburgischer Rath. See Zedler, LV, 17.

⁸⁹ Adami's name (1581-1643) also does not appear on the matriculation rolls in Tübingen. He travelled in 1611 (as a tutor to a nobleman) through Greece, Syria, the Holy Land, Malta, and Italy, staying eight months in Naples with the imprisoned Campanella, whose trust he gained and whose work he edited (*Realis philosophia*

Andreae's tabulation of names actually began with a number of leading intellectuals, the first of whom was Arndt, followed by one of the leading theologians of Lutheran orthodoxy, Johann Gerhard, who was healed by Arndt as a child.⁹⁰ Listed third was another prominent theologian, Christoph Schleupner, who had been with Arndt from 1607-1612 at Eisleben;⁹¹ also listed was a longtime friend, Laurenz Laelius.⁹² When the two scholars Andreae identified in the funeral tribute to Wense are added to these orthodox Lutherans, an image of a society with grand aspirations – not simply a small circle at Tübingen – begins to emerge. For Andreae named one of Europe's most brilliant stars, Johannes Kepler, who had studied under the same mathematics professor as Andreae, and Daniel Schwenter, professor of both mathematics and oriental languages at Altdorf.⁹³ Several other leading academics were enumer-

epilogisticae [1623], *Prodromum philosophiae instaurandae* [1617], *De sensu rerum et magia* [1620], and *Apologia pro Galileo* [1622]). Adami introduced Campanella's work to Tübingen in 1613 and the *Civitas solis* began to circulate in manuscript. See Jöcher I, 87.

⁹⁰ As a fifteen year old in Quedlinburg, Gerhard (1582-1637) became seriously ill (a plague struck in 1598), but the ministrations of Arndt, then a preacher at Quedlinburg (1590-1599), cured him of his melancholy; Gerhard then changed to theology (from medicine), studying at Wittenberg, Jena, and Marburg. He was made professor of theology at Jena in 1616; his fruitful pen produced academic works as well as works of practical piety. *Meditationes sacrae*, a series of pious observations gathered from Scripture, Augustine, Anselm, Bernard, Thomas à Kempis, etc, was widely translated: eight English editions in the seventeenth century. He also carried out a massive correspondence (reputedly he wrote over ten thousand letters). See Jöcher II, 948-50; and *ADB*, I, 767-71.

⁹¹ Schleupner or Scheupner (1566-1635) was known mostly through his works of practical theology; he studied at Wittenberg, beginning 23 May 1583, and finally receiving a doctorate in 1598, *Wittenberg*, II, 313, 452. From 1607-1612 he was superintendent at Eisleben; from 1612-1632 he served in Bayreuth and Hof. See Jöcher, IV, 278-79; and *ADB*, XXXI, 471-72.

⁹² Laelius (1572-1634) was from Franconia and studied at Jena and Wittenberg, *Wittenberg*, II, 404. From 1605 he was minister and Consistorial-Assessor in Onolsbach. See Andreae's *Vita*, p. 110 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 115]; Zedler, XVI 185; and Jöcher, II, 2202.

⁹³ Schwenter (1585-1636) was also a scholar of the Cabala. In a memorial address by Johann Jacob Pömer, *Vite Periodus Viri Clarissimi & Excellentissimi Dn. M. Danielis Schwenteri* (Altdorf, 1636), Sig. C2, Schwenter's Cabalistic knowledge was praised. Will, III, 655, pointed out that Schwenter had also been suspected of dabbling in magic: "Wegen seiner grossen und geheimen Kenntniß der Physik und Mathematik ist er von iemenden der Magie verdächtig gehalten und unschuldig durchgezogen worden." In addition to his published mathematical studies, Schwenter left behind two manuscripts that attest to his interest in esoteric wisdom: "Libellus de secretis organicis, seu de secretis grammatis, quomodo videlicet occultè loquendum & scribendum ex optimis quibusque Auctoribus congestus" (1616) and "Secreta organica & Literae synthematicæ, oder verborgene geheime Schreib=Kunst, aus alten *Historicis* und *Scribenten* fleissig

ated: his longtime friend Matthias Bernegger, professor of mathematics, history and oriental languages at Strasbourg;⁹⁴ Daniel Sennert, one of the most celebrated physicians of his time and professor of medicine at Wittenberg, whom Andreae also celebrated for his religious zeal;⁹⁵ and Polycarp Leyser, professor of theology at Leipzig.⁹⁶

In addition to these intellectuals and his own circle at the university, Andreae managed to inspire others to the cause, notably his first important patron, Georg Achatius Enenkel, baron of Hohenegg and of Polheim (d. 1627), who was active on behalf of Austrian protestant causes and frequently in residence at Tübingen. He may also be considered something of an intellectual, having written a handful of minor histories. Enenkel's birth is often given as 1588, but that must be in error since he matriculated at Tübingen in 1585.⁹⁷ When he was in residency at Tübingen, he dined frequently with Crusius, his Greek professor, who referred

zusammen getragen"; both manuscripts are in the Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek.

⁹⁴ Bernegger (1582-1640) was an Austrian Protestant living in exile. He studied at the Lutheran academy (elevated to a university in 1621) in Strasbourg (1599), becoming professor of history in 1613, and receiving the chair in rhetoric in 1626. He was interested in natural science, education, mathematics, languages, and corresponded with Grotius, Kepler, Schickhardt, et al. Andreae met him during his 1606 visit to Strasbourg and considered him an intimate friend, *Vita*, p. 111 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 117]. Milada Blekastad, *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský* (Oslo and Prague: Universitets-forlaget, 1969), p. 73, believes Bernegger helped bring out most of Andreae's anonymous works in Strasbourg. See Jöcher I, 1021; and *ADB*, II, 412-13.

⁹⁵ Sennert (1572-1637), from Breslau, first studied philosophy (entering in 1593, master's in 1597), *Wittenberg*, II, 401, but then studied medicine (at Leipzig, Jena, Frankfurt a.d.O., and Berlin), returning in 1602 as professor of medicine at Wittenberg. He borrowed Paracelsian concepts to introduce the use of chemical medicines to his students and achieved a wide-spread reputation because of his writings, which were derivative but popular. Though he had survived six epidemics of the plague--and ministered to the sick--he succumbed to the seventh. See Andreae's *Vita*, p. 112 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 119]; Zedler, XXVII 74-77; Jöcher IV, 506-7; and *ADB*, XXXIV, 34-35.

⁹⁶ Born in Wittenberg, Leyser (1586-1633) studied there from 1598 to 1607, *Wittenberg*, II, 447, then continued at Tübingen, entering 22 May 1607, *Tübingen*, II, 41, where he met Andreae. He joined the faculty at Wittenberg in 1610, and he was called as professor of theology to Leipzig in 1613. As a theologian he worked to maintain a "pure" Lutheranism from Calvinism (as had his father whose ideas he defended against Pareus's attack). See Jöcher II, 2631-32; and *ADB*, XVIII, 526.

⁹⁷ Georgius Achatius Enenkel (or Enengckel) matriculated at Tübingen 17 July 1585, *Tübingen*, I, 636. He was known for his translation of Thucydides (1614) and a tractate on Sejanus (1620), but his *De privilegiis juris civilis* (1606) was sufficiently regarded to be republished in 1720. See Ernst H. Kneschke, ed. *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, 9 vols. (Leipzig, 1859-1870), III, 111.

invariably to him as the generous Baron Enenkel.⁹⁸ He corresponded with Crusius over his projected German translation of Thucydides and the state of affairs for Austrian protestants, whose plight he may have hoped to ease through Andreae's efforts.⁹⁹ Enenkel became acquainted with Andreae through his writings and used Besold's name to introduce a letter soliciting Andreae's friendship on 28 December 1617, which the obviously gratified Andreae copied in his autobiography.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately none of the other letters survives; his name appears regularly in Andreae's life's story – during the second Austrian trip on behalf of the beleaguered protestants, Enenkel's connections were invaluable, especially with the Hohenfelder family – and Andreae acknowledged the continuing financial support that had enabled him to maintain an amanuensis.¹⁰¹ Since he provided assistance until his death in 1627, his name on the list of supporters lends additional credence to the substantiality of the society. Andreae also enlisted the support of a few Austrians he met either during his Wanderjahr of 1611 or on his diplomatic mission of 1619, undertaken at the behest of Enenkel and designed to maintain Lutheranism in Austria (despite his delicate constitution, he enjoyed the role of wandering scholar): Daniel Hizler, a pastor in Linz; Michael Zeller of Vienna; and Balthasar, Baron Roggendorf.¹⁰² To them should be added the

⁹⁸ On 1 January 1596, the very day Crusius began keeping his diary, he dined "invitatu generosi Baronis D. Enenckelii" and again on 20 March, 21 March, 24 March, 28 March, 29 March; see *Diarium*, I, 2. Crusius repaid some of this generosity by composing two epithalamia in Greek for Enenkel's wedding (I, 354).

⁹⁹ Crusius, *Diarium*, I, 414, reported receiving Enenkel's letter 23 November 1596, which dealt among other things with the dangers in Austria; Crusius summarized his return letter of 24 November in which he mentioned that he prays daily for Austria and Enenkel (I, 416). Only an 11 February 1595 letter from Enenkel to Crusius is now extant (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Autogr. 121/4-1).

¹⁰⁰ *Vita*, pp. 50-51 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 78-79]. Andreae dedicated *Mythologiae Christianae* (1619) to Enenkel, who contributed a laudatory brief.

¹⁰¹ *Vita*, p. 51 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 78-79]. Both Enenkel and Otto Hohenfelder, another Austrian baron, were his hosts during the trip (p. 92 [p. 381]).

¹⁰² Not much is known of Hizler (1576-1635) other than that Andreae visited him on both trips and praised his eloquence and heart, *Vita*, p. 34 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 52]; his dates are given by van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 248. Little is known of Zeller. Though Andreae listed Roggendorf as *Vienne*, he was from one of the most prominent of Reichs-Gräfischen Houses in Franconia. Johann Heinrichs von Falckenstein, *Analecta Nordgaviensia* (Schwabach, 1734), p. 459, gives his birth as 1572. See Zedler, XXVI, 886-914.

Dutch diplomat Joachim van Wickevoort.¹⁰³

Since nearly all of Andreae's letters from this period were destroyed, we should not expect to find much evidence of specific meetings of this group. We know now that the *Societas Christiana* was to be an epistolary circle (more prudent with such a mélange of orthodox theologians and enthusiasts). While he associated closely with most of them, others he apparently knew only through correspondence. So too we must consider that this list drafted in 1642 represents a continuum in time, if as Edighoffer surmises, correctly I believe, Andreae may not have known some of these men by 1618.¹⁰⁴ All of Andreae's utopian societies were largely intellectual constructs, and "membership" may have meant little more than a commitment to be concerned about societal problems. (It is still surprising, though, that even in the later correspondence between Andreae and Saubert, for example, not a single reference to this early society was made.¹⁰⁵)

Now that we have the *Imago*, we can see that it is a blueprint drafted to hold such a group together in exile after the Thirty Years' War had begun. Those joining together in this brotherhood did so "to endeavour to rise to the highest pitch of humane felicity, that so they might exhibit both in body and mind a perfect copy of Christian Imitation, and so knit themselves with the golden chain of charity."¹⁰⁶ The *Imago* described a Lutheran society (which Hartlib and Hall changed to "Protestant" in their 1647 English translation) of dedicated Christians who have abjured the world.¹⁰⁷ Their head is a German prince, under whom twelve privy councillors serve. Each of the three chief areas—religion, virtue, and learning—has its own president or professor, who would preside over

¹⁰³ Wickevoort, or Wicquefort or WicQuefort, (c. 1600-1670) was from Amsterdam. He probably studied at Leiden, as his more famous brothers certainly did. As councillor to the Landgräfin Amalie Elizabeth of Hesse-Kassel, he was an ardent Lutheran who worked on behalf of his faith and for a political union of Saxony and Hesse. See Zedler, LV, 1736; and *ADB*, XLII, 336-38.

¹⁰⁴ Edighoffer, *Rose-Croix*, p. 434, believes Andreae *probablement* had first contact with Dieterich, Göckel, and Wickevoort about 1628. In his *Vita*, p. 130 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 148], Andreae seemed to indicate that he met Dieterich in 1634.

¹⁰⁵ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 249 n. 33.

¹⁰⁶ *A Modell of a Christian Society*, trans. John Hall (Cambridge, 1647), p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ The change from Lutheran to Protestant has ample justification from Andreae himself. When Comenius wrote Andreae seeking admission for himself and three of his fellow Bohemian Brethren to this brotherhood despite being neither German nor Lutheran, Andreae welcomed them all in his 15 September 1629 letter (Kvačala, I, 11-12).

inquiries. The other privy councillors were combined into various triumvirates or *triga*, chosen so that "men vers'd in diverse faculties and studies meet together" presumably to suit the needs of a particular problem.¹⁰⁸ He mentioned various combinations: (a) the divine, the censor & the philosopher, (b) the politician, the historian & the economist, and (c) the physician, the mathematician & the philologist.¹⁰⁹ All members were German, and all leading scientific works were to be translated into German "that a doore may be opened to search out Gods works, which the Grammarians have damm'd up."¹¹⁰ Also significant was the reassurance that members need not live communally.

Neither is there any reason, that because of the communion of Society, it were lawfull for us to cast off[f] the care of houses and families, and leave our condition of life, sith most things are done by letters, sealed with faithfullnesse and silence, unlesse the businesse be such as requires the concerning of many.¹¹¹

What Andreae described in the *Imago* was a mechanism whereby an elect among the virtuosi could exchange ideas to solve problems; in this, it resembled the learned societies flourishing elsewhere. The only vaguely esoteric aspects were the repeated statements that each of the members was to be entrusted with the "secrets" of the society (*intima Collegii*). That even an orthodox Lutheran society should shroud itself in mystery was not unusual in an elitist culture that protected its authority by mystifying the source of its power – i.e., its knowledge. The accompanying pamphlet, *The Right Hand of Christian Love Offered*, sketched out the general principles of Christian fellowship, thus emphasizing the benevolent, orthodox nature of the *Civitas Solis*.¹¹²

The funeral tribute to Wense quoted above also makes clear that his celebrated utopia *Christianopolis* was part of his efforts on behalf

¹⁰⁸ *A Modell*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ See *A Modell*, pp. 12–13, 28–48. The third triad mentioned here may be confusing to Hall's modern reader who would not know that "physician" is elsewhere rendered as "naturalist"; this man was supported or aided by an anatomist and surgeon. The "economist" may have been a steward.

¹¹⁰ *A Modell*, p. 27.

¹¹¹ *A Modell*, p. 50.

¹¹² It explained the idea of Christian fellowship and the obligation for Christians to join together in the mystical body of the church by grasping the hand extended to all (1 John 5:2–3).

of a Protestant brotherhood. Just how the myth of Christianopolis served the more practical *Civitas Solis* is difficult to judge, since his utopia was a “literary” work published for a wider audience. Written in Latin (only translated into German in the eighteenth century [1741, 1754] and English in the twentieth [1916]), *Reipublicæ Christianopolitanæ descriptio* garnered praise from learned readers such as Robert Burton, who placed it straight away with the “witty fictions” of More, Bacon, and Campanella.¹¹³ Like the *Utopia* it was framed as a traveller’s tale and conformed to already conventional generic codes: the city of Christianopolis was given impossible geographical coordinates within the “Academic Sea” (“in the Antarctic zone, 10° of the south pole, 20° of the equinoctial circle, and about 12° under the point of the bull”) to render it a u-topia or nowhere-land.¹¹⁴ The dedication to Arndt, moreover, identifies it as a “colony” whose source lies in “that Jerusalem which thou [i.e., Arndt] didst build with mighty spirit.” He may have been indebted to Campanella for such details as the layout of the city and the educational use of emblems, but Andreae’s utopia was far more individualistic whereas Campanella had emphasized the collectivity. Andreae’s circle of friends before had paid tribute to the imprisoned visionary through their use of the name *Civitas Solis*, but they were by no means his followers. Scholars of church history tend to locate Andreae’s ideas about fellowship or community less in literary realms than in the religious: Brecht believes that Andreae’s *fraternitas* has much in common with the *Sodality* of Erasmus and van Dülmen places it in the realm of Martin Bucer’s ideal religious community.¹¹⁵ They see Andreae creating a Christian utopian myth by giving his readers the pattern of a practical, realizable Christian community that was both in historical time and in *tempus redemptionis*.

The narrator is a pilgrim, who, “suffering much in patience from tyranny, sophistry, and hypocrisy,” embarks on a ship named

¹¹³ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Thomas C. Faulkner et al., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989-1994), I, 89.

¹¹⁴ Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis: An Ideal State of the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Felix Emil Held (New York: Oxford UP, 1916), p. 143.

¹¹⁵ Held, pp. 16-40, argues against any influence by Campanella; see also Manuel & Manuel, pp. 300-8. See Brecht, “Johann Valentin Andreae. Versuch einer Erneuerung der Württembergischen Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert” in *Kirchenordnung und Kirchenzucht in Württemberg vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brecht (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1967), p. 62; and van Dülmen’s introduction to his edition of *Christianopolis* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1972), p. 13.

Phantasy and is shipwrecked on the triangular island of Caphar Salama. That Andreae chose the Arabic rather than the Hebrew name for the "village of peace" reminds us of the Arabic contributions to the esoteric education of Frater Christian Rosencreutz in the *Fama*; Andreae also intended an allegorical location for this city, which is described in the dedication to Arndt as a colony "in that Jerusalem which thou didst build with mighty spirit."¹¹⁶ After undergoing a three-fold examination of his character, the pilgrim is free to wander till he reaches "the innermost shrine of the city which you would rightly call the center of activity of the state." At the heart of Christianopolis stands a circular temple enclosed by a square *collegium*. Here the institutions of religion, justice, and education are housed; here, their creed is displayed on two tablets. Twelve articles inscribed in gold outline their religious principles; ten articles (based on the commandments) prescribe the rules of daily life. The religion practiced on Caphar Salama can be described as ecumenical Protestantism. The first article upholds Scripture as the "interpreter of all wisdom" and the ninth mentions only baptism and communion as sacraments, but the citizens are respectful of piety wherever it is practiced and only intolerant of factiousness.

Andreae's belief in utilitarian science is also evident as we tour the library, archives, printing press, laboratories for natural sciences and mathematics, pharmacy, and anatomy theater of the *collegium*. Quotidian life in Andreae's ideal state is described only to illustrate his belief in applied science as an instrument to ameliorate society. For example, the pilgrim inspects seven workshops at the forge dedicated to the "testing of nature herself":

everything that the earth contains in her bowels is subjected to the laws and instruments of science. The men are not driven to a work with which they are unfamiliar, like pack-animals to their task, but they have been trained long before in an accurate knowledge of scientific matters, and find their delight in the inner parts of nature. If a person does not here listen to the reason and look into the most minute elements of the macrocosm, they think that nothing has been proved. Unless you analyze matter by experiment, unless you improve the deficiencies of knowledge by more capable instruments, you are worthless.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Held, p. 131. The Arabic origins are discussed in Chapter III.

¹¹⁷ *Christianopolis*, p. 154.

Most of the work focuses, though, on the spiritual and intellectual life of the inhabitants, particularly the educational system. Their school is divided into eight departments or stages—grammar, logic, arithmetic, music, astronomy, natural science, ethics, and theology; to the classical trivium and quadrivium Andreae has added theology and greatly emphasized science. Indeed, the pursuit of science coupled with worship seem to be the main occupations at Christianopolis where scientific instruments and laboratories are widely available and scientific research is officially enshrined in the *collegium* at the heart of the city. Andreae's educational system is reminiscent of the emblematic method inscribed on the walls of Campanella's City of the Sun, which in turn influenced Comenius whose *Orbis sensualium pictus* was fully given to this approach. Nevertheless Andreae's emphasis on utopian education and the on-going scientific inquiry were the most original aspects of his work.

In Andreae's view a reordering of society is possible only when all its members have been regenerated through Christ. Since so many Christian clerics share this goal, the community depicted here seems less visionary and more achievable. As Frank Manuel and Fritz Manuel put it, "Andreae's man has been restored to the dignity forfeited by Adam's transgression, and through the Holy Spirit he has entered a new relationship with nature."¹¹⁸ Everyone in the community can and must share this Christian experience. Andreae, however, hints that an exalted form of illumination is possible for a select few endowed with a superior degree of virtue and intellect. Since the pilgrim is merely an observer, he can only point mutely at the secrets hidden from him, that is at an esoteric wisdom intended for the few. For example, during the course in logic at school many are involved in the study of metaphysics; beyond this lies a more rarified subject.

This same hall serves also for the study of something still higher, and this is theosophy, a science which does not recognize any human invention or research, but which owes its whole existence to God. Where nature ends, this begins; and, taught by the highest divinity, it preserves its sacred mysteries religiously. Few men, even among the most faithful, may embrace theosophy, for it is only God who can work benefits, with His light or with the cross. God reveals Himself in a moment; He keeps Himself long within His shrines; He is always the best, though rarely

¹¹⁸ Manuel & Manuel, p. 301.

seen; yet His infinite works have been revealed and in them every true Christian may rejoice.¹¹⁹

Similarly, after geometry the study of "mystic numbers" in the mathematics course is reserved for those who are older and can "rise even higher."¹²⁰ With the "key of David" the mysteries of the sacred proportions with which God has ordered the world can be known. (Studion's "Naometria" had also referred to the *clavis* or "key" of David, with which the temple and altar of God can be opened and measured.)

In the city of Christianopolis, then, a select few—an elite brotherhood specially gifted by God—possess a secret wisdom and oversee the further exploration of nature's secrets through scientific experimentation. For modern readers there appears to be an inconsistency in Andreae's thinking: the peace, harmony, and piety in Christianopolis is the new life of the regenerate made possible through Christ, available to and expected from all; at the same time, Andreae asserts his deep humanistic faith in the power of reason (especially the new science) to discover the wisdom of God, a position that we tend to regard as elitist. That God chose to bestow gifts in an apparently unequal way was a mystery of divine providence that few questioned. Andreae was certainly curious about God's secrets and interested in esoteric matters; however, his *Christianopolis* was far removed from the "invisible" brotherhoods being bruited about Europe at the time.

Equally interesting is the utopia's preface in which Andreae contextualized his own work within the Rosicrucian furor. He placed his ideas for social reform—if the utopian impulse can be so construed—within the setting of Luther and the current efforts to enhance piety by Arndt, to whom the book was dedicated, Gerhard, and Martin Moller. His task is made all the more difficult since the impostors holding power in the church, the universities and elsewhere find truth and uprightness intolerable and work to suppress it. This very phenomenon was evinced as soon as the Rosicrucian fraternity promised,

the greatest and most unusual things, even those things which men generally want, it added also the exceptional hope of the correction of the

¹¹⁹ *Christianopolis*, pp. 217-18.

¹²⁰ *Christianopolis*, pp. 221-22.

present corrupted state of affairs, and even further, the imitation of the acts of Christ. What a confusion among men followed the report of this thing, what a conflict among the learned, what an unrest and commotion of impostors and swindlers, it is entirely needless to say.¹²¹

In this historical context, Andreae then said, in lines quoted above, that Wense retorted, “If these reforms seem proper, why do we not try them ourselves?” Two points must be emphasized here: On the one hand, Andreae maintained a critical distance from the Rosicrucians in the preface by confessing that the fraternity was “in my opinion a joke [*ludibrium*], but according to theologians a serious matter”; and, even though doubting its existence, he called it “hazy, omniscient only in the eyes of its own boastfulness, with a sewn shield for an emblem and marred with many foolish ceremonies.”¹²² On the other, he clearly lauded its goals and intended that his utopia capitalize on them. In fact, his mentioning the secret brotherhood in the preface confirms that his ideas were coincident with the Rosicrucian fable. Finally, we should note that though the fictional *Christianopolis* was constructed for a different purpose than his more practical treatises, all of his utopian schemes were based on his core belief that reordering the body politic could only be accomplished through Christian regeneration.

Andreae wrote these utopian works while in his *Laboratorium* at Vaihingen. When he was transferred to Calw in 1620, his utopian impulses found a different outlet in a community-oriented, mutual aid society, the Calwer Färberstift. His plans for the *Societas Christiana* had been hindered by letters inviting certain Austrian aristocrats to join, which were sent without prior consultation and which had the effect of making the society appear ridiculous.¹²³ The outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War contributed to this shift in his emphasis in a complex way, as van Dülmen has discovered. The

¹²¹ *Christianopolis*, p. 137.

¹²² *Christianopolis*, pp. 137, 138–39. In the tale itself, when first examined, the pilgrim is asked whether he is one of the “impostors who falsely call themselves the BROTHERS OF THE ROSICRUCIANS” (p. 145). This challenge is couched in such ambiguity that it does not reveal much (since we do not know if they are impostors for falsely claiming to be members of a real brotherhood, or impostors for claiming to be members of a false brotherhood). This same ambiguity is evident in the Latin: “ex . . . impostoribus, qui se roseae crucis fratres mentirentur”; see *Christianopolis 1619: Originaltext und Übertragung nach D. S. Georgi 1741*, ed. Richard van Dülmen (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1972), p. 40.

¹²³ *Vita*, p. 101 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 102].

custodians of the new order were understandably sensitive to any challenge to their authority, and the Lutheran church in Württemberg especially began to take action against the Schwärmer – what the English would later call “enthusiasts” in religion – as a flood of radical sectarian, Schwenckfeldian, Weigelian, and Rosicrucian tracts swept through Germany.¹²⁴ The same irenic-late humanist culture that produced Andreae laid the groundwork for these manifold expressions of spirituality in the early decades of the seventeenth century. But in times of social upheaval such works as Arndt's *True Christianity* were deemed questionable.

While Andreae later felt obliged to assure his patron that he had never had anything to do with the “pipe dreams of the Schwärmeri,”¹²⁵ his utopian tracts nonetheless found a receptive audience there. A part of the Hess circle, some of whom were also involved in the *Civitas Solis*, came under suspicion as a Weigelian conventicle, as the 1622 trial records of the Tübinger printer Eberhardt Wild, who had printed the *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta*, reveal. During a search of Wild's house, a cache of writings by such authors as Schwenckfeld, Weigel, Franck, Tauler, Agrippa was found. When Wild's publication records were also examined, the authorities decided that he had printed a number of forbidden sectarian books in the preceding eight years, including works by Besold, Bidenbach, Heinlin though Andreae himself was not named.¹²⁶ The trial itself failed to prove the existence of such a sect, and Andreae was not implicated officially (neither did he mention this trial in his autobiography, except perhaps indirectly in his comments above). The trial specifically revealed two interesting details: first, Andreae's Austrian friend Abraham Hölzel had himself set a new title page for an edition of the *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta*; second, Michael Zeller (a member of the *Societas Christiana*), acting as an agent for a “*Bruderschaft*” had been scouting about “wo ein Locus (oder das gelobte Land) sein möchte, da sich die Fraternicos” could be established.¹²⁷ Such a trial shows why Andreae, who had already en-

¹²⁴ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 124–25.

¹²⁵ Andreae's dedication to Duke August was dated St. Andrew's Day (30 November) 1642, but does not appear in Rheinwald's edition of the *Vita*. A translation is published in the *Selbstbiographie*, pp. i–ix, and an abridgement in Kienast, pp. 240–41.

¹²⁶ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 132–33.

¹²⁷ Universitätsarchiv Tübingen, I, 8/1, 176, Aussage v. Geißler 26 March 1622; quoted in van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 133.

duced one public scandal, had become uninterested in pursuing the *Civitas Solis* with these men in the changed atmosphere in Württemberg. He had long since recoiled (certainly by 1617) at what the “secret brotherhood” of the Rosicrucians had become in the public eye. The exigencies of war also required that he devote most of his energies to his parishioners at Calw.¹²⁸

In 1621 with the support of local merchants and the Clothing and Dyers (or Färber) Guild, Andreae at last founded a society to help the needy, to educate the young, and to subvent churches, the Färberstift in Calw. This practical attempt at a Christian society in fact existed until 1979.¹²⁹ Andreae regarded the Färberstift, which he also called *Christiana societas*, as a manifestation of the utopian brotherhoods outlined in his writings.

In this sorrowful time, I devoted myself wholly to friendship. The year previous [1620] I had made a sketch of the Christian Society, whose members I gathered from among my fellow citizens [of Calw]. They pooled a considerable sum of money together to support their needs not only then, but also for when circumstances made it necessary to meet future evils, to provide for their posterity, to receive steadfastness in their friendship, and to work against decayed morals.¹³⁰

(A few lines later he referred to new troubles with the *societas quaedam literaria et christiana*, thus differentiating the practical from the literary or learned society while establishing their kinship.) Through the Färberstift he was able to comfort and aid his flock when they needed it most. In fact, they were able to help revive the Tübinger Stift a few years later by their generosity. His affection for this vital, generous fellowship is evident from the reluctance with which he finally left Calw for Stuttgart in 1639; moreover, he remarked that before leaving he had to put all his affairs in order, especially in view of this Christian Society.¹³¹ Whatever ideal form

¹²⁸ Andreae however did keep copies of these utopian tracts at hand; he gave Philipp Heinhofer in 1630 a copy to evaluate; and in 1629 Joachim Morsius visited Andreae in Calw and got twelve copies of the tracts and sent them to prominent men, some of whom had occultist leanings. So others continued to use Andreae's ideas for their own purposes. See van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 153-54.

¹²⁹ See Roland Edighoffer, “Die Stadt Calw als ‘Christenburg’ und ‘Civitas Solis.’” In *Johann Valentin Andreä, 1586-1654: Ein universaler Geist des 17. Jahrhunderts in internationaler Sicht*, ed. Friedrich Bran (Bad Liebenzell: Bernhard Gengenbach, 1987), pp. 71-73.

¹³⁰ *Vita*, p. 100 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 100].

¹³¹ *Vita*, p. 182 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 204].

he may have intended his utopian projects, the practical effort at the Stift in Calw was dear to his heart.

As might be expected, Andreae never forgot the ideal forms of a Protestant brotherhood. The establishment of the *Unio Christiana* while visiting friends at Nuremberg in 1628 at the insistence of Saubert, who had been among the supporters of the previous attempt, will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter. The 24-page tract *Veræ unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen* recorded this society's aspirations, which was projected along the same lines as his *Civitas Solis*. This latter brotherhood "never saw the light," he told Duke August, and for a time his aspirations for corporate union took place mystically in the body of Christ.¹³² The idea was never quite put to rest. Andreae pursued his plans for a Christian brotherhood *redivivus* through the duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who had figured in Andreae's plans since Wense had first suggested him as the patron of the *Civitas Solis*. Together Andreae and the duke began to correspond in the 1640s, and though the upheaval in Germany thwarted their plans, Andreae gained an extremely supportive patron.

Duke August (1579-1666), was educated in Rostock, Tübingen, and Strasbourg. As the fourth son in his family, he probably did not hope to rule; in his fifty-fifth year, however, he succeeded to the duchy as a result of some unexpected deaths. Most of his life was given over to the leisurely pursuit of his scholarly interests. His library, for which he compiled the catalogue himself, was vast and provided the nucleus for the collection bearing his name in Wolfenbüttel. He maintained a steady correspondence with theologians and scholars throughout Europe. Even while attempting to heal the wounds caused by the war, the duke still worked on a German Gospel Harmony, for help on which he turned to Andreae, as a gifted German writer and a theologian.¹³³ Had the war not come so dramatically to Württemberg, the men might have established connections sooner, for in 1629 Andreae sent the duke through an intermediary copies of his utopian tracts and later a

¹³² Letter from Andreae to Duke August, 27 June 1642, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 65.1 *Extrav.* fol. 17.

¹³³ For a detailed account of this relationship, see E. L. Th. Henke, "Herzog August von Braunschweig und Joh. Val. Andrea: Mittheilungen aus ihrem ersten brieflichen Verkehr in den Jahren 1640-1642," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben* 3 (1852):260-68, 273-75.

wedding poem. In 1640 Andreae wrote to his friend Philipp Heinhofer that he was anxious to help the duke in anyway he could. With Heinhofer's encouragement, Andreae wrote Duke August on 24 December 1640, thus initiating a correspondence that would become weekly after 1643, much of which was eventually published. In addition to aid for the duke's projects, Andreae also provided literary *curiosa* for his library. The duke's financial support soon followed, and in his autobiography Andreae reported receiving 400 thaler annually after 1642.¹³⁴

On 27 June 1642 Andreae reported on his utopian activities (partially quoted above) and presented copies of his tracts:

Now I understand that this union convenes to the extent that we are in the body of Christ, so that nothing more united or constant can be said to exist, and to this union humbly I invite you, howsoever eminent and excellent by birth or class, to want or not want the same in Christ as this union, not out of rashness or immodesty but out of such Christian trust that in this prelude of eternity makes us equal partners entrusted to Christ; at a future time in a like place, when the dangers of the earth are left behind, we ought to be in the blessed mansions.¹³⁵

Andreae also indicated that the duke had always been intended as the head of this *Societas Christiana* (that he had actually succeeded to the duchy had perhaps renewed Andreae's enthusiasm). Duke August responded on 26 July 1642 that he appreciated the books, noting that he had received the *Imago* previously. Moreover, the duke assured him that his readers should have recognized the tracts were opposed to the *scripta fratrum roseae crucis*.¹³⁶ Still concerned about misunderstandings surrounding his past associations,

¹³⁴ *Vita*, pp. 206-7 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 245-46].

¹³⁵ Kvačala, I, 183: "Nunc quam in Capite Christo, ita nobiscum convenire intelligo, ut coniunctius nihil, et consonantius, dici queat; cum quicquid *Natalibus* et *Ordine* longe eminentiorem, et excellentissimum, ad hanc Unionem sive idem velle et nolle in Christo; submisce invitare non temeritatis, aut inpudentiae, sed Christianae tantum fiducia fuit, quae in hoc aeternitatis praeludio, Christi Jesu depositi, nos et aequos participes facit; pari loco olim (depositis terrae discriminibus) in beatis aedibus habendos."

¹³⁶ Henke, p. 268: "Auf die schönen übersandten Tractätlein, deren Durchlesung und Ruminirung totum hominem erfordert, will ich hiernächst antworten. Die *anno 20* gedruckt, habe dasmalen empfangen und durchlesen. Es habens damalen viele Ignoranten unter die *scripta fratrum roseae crucis*, welche damaln häufig herauskamen, mit gerechnet gehabt, da sie doch vielmehr hätten sehen sollen, daß es denselben ehe entgegengesetzt worden." On the verso of the June letter from Andreae, Duke August also noted that Heinhofer had also given him copies of two of the tracts.

Andreae replied on 17 August 1642 that he was relieved that the duke had separated his ideas from the *vanitatum Rosecrucianarum et fanaticorum*.¹³⁷ In a further letter of 9 October 1642, Andreae asked again for support concerning his long sought, beneficial and worthy *Christiane societatis sive Unionis*. The duke finally responded to the possibility of a learned society on 1 November 1642: when the waves of the sea that had been agitated by Mars had been calmed somewhat, the proposed Christian union must be striven for all the more zealously.¹³⁸ By the time the winds of war finally ceased, though, Andreae was nearing retirement.

Towards the end of his life he was connected with one other idealistic group, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, the best known of the seventeenth-century societies intending to purify the German language. Upon the recommendation of Duke August, he became a member on 6 November 1646 and accepted the name *der Mürbe*, the weak or exhausted one, which he saw as appropriate for his years. He took as his *impresa* moss hanging on an old tree with the motto, *Bleibet doch frisch* or "remains still fresh." This witty *impresa* notwithstanding, Andreae believed he had once again associated with a group having the general goal of improving society, as revealed in his 17 December 1646 letter thanking his patron and pledging *ad normam Societatis, legesque obsequenter obstringit, animumque indagandae veritatis Christianae studiosum; morum emendationum appetentem*.¹³⁹

As we have thus seen, Andreae was not just dedicated intellectually to the utopian ideal; from nearly the beginning till the end of his life, he sought fellowship with those committed to bettering society in some way.

¹³⁷ Henke, p. 268: "Daß . . . sie die beigefügte ideas societatis ex numero vanitatum Rosecrucianarum et fanaticorum eximieren, habe ich mich ebenmäßig mit untert[änigem]. Dank zu erfreuen."

¹³⁸ Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 236 Extrav.*, I, fol. 26; quoted in van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 155: "Wan die wällen des vom Marte erregten Meeres sich in etwas zum Kalm werden legen; so muß umb so viel eyfriger nach der vorgeschlagenen Christlichen Unionsbefoderung getrachtet werden."

¹³⁹ *Vita*, pp. 239-40 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 293-94]. For his *impresa* [*Die Mitglieder der Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft 1617-1650*, ed. Klaus Conermann (Weinheim: VCH, 1985), p. 563] Andreae gave the following description: "Das Moß auf der Erde unter den bäumen in einem walde auf beyden seiten durchsichtig, ein waldgärtlein darbey." On the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, see Jane O. Newman, *Pastoral Conventions* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1990), pp. 32-68. Letter, Andreae to Duke August, 17 December 1646, cited by Ludwig Keller, "Comenius und die Akademien der Naturphilosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* 4 (1895):23.

CHAPTER THREE

ANDREAE AND THE FABLE OF THE ROSICRUCIAN BROTHERHOOD

Howbeit we know after a time there wil now be a general reformation, both of divine and humane things, according to our desire, and the expectation of others: for it's fitting, that before the rising of the Sun, there should appear and break forth *Aurora*, or some clearness, or divine light in the sky; and so in the mean time some few, which shall give their names, may joyn together, thereby to increase the number and respect of our *Fraternity*, and make a happy and wished for beginning of our *Philosophical Canons*, prescribed to us by our brother R. C. and be partakers with us of our treasures (which never can fail or be wasted) in all humility, and love to be eased of this worlds labor, and not walk so blindly in the knowledge of the wonderful works of God.

Fama fraternitatis (1614)

Societas nulla extra Fraternitatem Iesu, finis nullus præterquam æterna cohabitatio Iesu: ita Iesus nobis omnia erit in omnibus, quo in uno Acquiescemus.

Andreae, *Menippus* (1617)

All discussion of Andreae's involvement with what has come to be known as the Rosicrucian furor has been withheld until it could be contextualized in the story of his lifelong involvement with Protestant utopianism. We especially need to try to look at these manifestos not from the perspective of the public outcry that followed their publication and the subsequent centuries of partisan scholarship, but rather from the perspective of Andreae's commitment to such brotherhoods. We can avoid the scholarly quagmire that surrounds his "involvement" in the so-called Rosicrucian brotherhood by foregrounding four important bibliographic details: First, in his "Breviarium vitae Andreae," a biographical and bibliographical record in the form of a yearly diary, Andreae ascertained his authorship of the *Chymische Hochzeit* and fixed its date of composition

at 1605.¹ Second, Andreae included axioms from the *Confessio* in the *Theca gladii spiritus* (1616), thus linking himself to this second manifesto. Third, Christoph Besold, one of the leaders of his circle, translated the Boccalini chapter published with the *Fama*. Lastly, a reception study from Andreae's own work in the aftermath of the public outcry—most importantly the revisions to his dialogue on the *fraternitas* from the 1617 to the 1618 editions of the *Menippus*—reveals that his admiration for their aims was being replaced by repugnance at the public response to the call he had helped draft. The first two bibliographical certainties render the debates over Andreae's involvement moot and render apologists (who wish to preserve his pious memory unbesmirched by Rosicrucianism) defenseless; the textual variations in the last bibliographic detail help prove that Andreae's involvement was not limited to a share in writing the *Fama* in his youth.

Since we now are much more aware of how frequent composite authorship was in such friendship circles, we need not fret over Andreae's precise contributions.² Kienast, Arnold, Edighoffer, Brecht, and van Dülmen all accept composite authorship as a high probability.³ F. N. Pryce argues cogently that the two accounts of the founding of the fraternity in the text offer evidence that several hands were at work and different pieces were spliced together.⁴ An-

¹ Kienast, pp. 238-40, published a transcription for the years 1586-1620 from a manuscript in the Archiv der Grossen National-Mutterloge in Berlin that was lost in the Second World War. Another manuscript, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 67.12. Aug. 8°*, also ascribes "Nuptiae Chymicae" to 1605. Andreae furthermore noted it in his *Vita*, p. 10 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 16].

² See, e.g., Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993).

³ However, Kienast, pp. 132-50, based on a stylistic analysis, does not think Andreae was one of the authors (though he attributes the idea of the Rosicrucian fable to him). Arnold, *Histoire des Rose-Croix*, pp. 44-67, 85-116, believes Andreae is the founder of Rosicrucianism, even though the manifestos were written compositely. Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 225, suspects that the *Fama* and *Confessio*—just as the pasquinade and the *Turbo*—were collaborative efforts by Andreae, Hess, Hölzel, Bidenbach and Besold. Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae," pp. 285-86, points to Andreae and Hess's joint involvement in the *Theca* and *Confessio*. van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 78, concedes that Andreae, Hess, and Hölzel jointly authored the *Fama*; he does not believe Andreae wrote the *Confessio* (p. 74).

⁴ *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of the R.C.*, introd. by F. N. Pryce (Margate: Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, 1923), p. 36. He terms one the "rationalist" account (where he travels to the east and learns wisdom) and the other "miraculous" (where the hidden treasures in the grave bring about the fraternity).

ecdotal evidence from the time does as well. Melchior Breler, writing to warn others about the clamoring of these disguised brothers, claimed that the *Fama* was written by “three men of the first rank” who were cleverly using the rumor of their possessing the philosopher’s stone to entice others to reveal what they knew.⁵ In 1700 Gottfrid Arnold made the first notable attempt to attribute authorship to Andreae through his claim that among the papers of M. Christoph Hirschens, minister of Eisleben and a close friend of Arndt, was a report that Arndt had revealed a secret to him that had been revealed first by Andreae: the *Fama* had been brought out by thirty men in Württemberg. Since no one ever saw this document, the story has never been credited.⁶ Later, when the article on the *Rosencreutzer* appeared in Zedler’s *Lexicon* (1742), “the well-known Lutheran divine” Andreae was identified as a possible founder.⁷ Perhaps the most intriguing peripheral evidence is Besold’s marginal comment in his own copy of the *Fama*, now at the library of the University of Salzburg: “Auctorem suspicor J. V. A. Et est et Andreanos avitum insigne, crux et rosae [figure supplied] qualis certe crux depingitur in der Chymischen Hochzeit.”⁸ Since the *Chymische Hochzeit* had not yet been published, Besold’s memory of this work suggests its significance to their circle.

In the judgment of Andreae’s most acute readers, then, he was squarely in the middle of the Rosicrucian furor from a relatively early time (i.e., 1605). Scholarly evidence also suggests, however, that Andreae should not be construed as the guiding spirit of the

⁵ Melchior Breler, *Mysterium iniquitatis Pseudoevangelicae* (Goslar, 1621), pp. 100-1: “Habet enim illud scriptum [Fama fraternitas] autores tres viros primarios, qui hoc ingenioso commentio alios de quibus fama ferebatur, esse ipsos lapidis Philosophici possessores, inescare, & versus falsusve rumor de ipsis jactatus esset, feliciter explorare sunt conati.” Frick, p. 152, identifies the three men as Besold, Hess and Andreae; see Montgomery, p. 213, for a rebuttal.

⁶ Henke, p. 268. See Gottfrid Arnold, *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1700), II, 947. The first defense of Andreae’s reputation came from Ludwig Melchior Fischlin, *Memoria Theologorum Wirtembergensium*, 2 parts with supplement (Ulm, 1709-1710), II, 129-37. In this laudatory biography, Fischlin acknowledged Arnold’s claim but would only concede that Andreae tolerated the company of those with *heterodoxis quibusdam principiis* (133).

⁷ Zedler, XXXII, 902-4.

⁸ Besold’s copy of the *Fama* was a 1615 Frankfurt edition [Salzburg UB Signatur 20.955 I] that included numerous replies to the Rosicrucians; the marginalia is found at the bottom of pp. 50-51; van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 76. Besold also indicated as much to a certain Johann Friedrich Jung, using the phrase “without doubt.”

Rosicrucians, even if the name and *impresa* of Christian Rosencreutz were of his coinage. As Crusius's diary shows, Hess was steeped in Studion's chiliasm and the prophecy for the year 1604 long before Andreae came to Tübingen; surely Andreae gleaned this key part of the schema through Hess.⁹ That others contributed significantly to the Rosicrucian fable does not preclude Andreae's having taken a primary role in "authoring" the documents during their composition, when he was a literarily polished but still junior member of this circle. We should also note that the lion's share of his nearly one hundred works were popularizations of the ideas of others; he was not an original thinker and had only a few truly creative offerings—most notably, *Chymische Hochzeit* and *Christianopolis*—though he was ever busy with his pen.

Not enough evidence remains to settle some of the other intriguing points surrounding the events in Tübingen between 1604 and 1614. We can only speculate on such matters as why the manuscripts of the *Chymische Hochzeit* and *Fama* were published so long after they were written. Or, who was responsible for publishing the *Chymische Hochzeit* in 1616 and for the marginal glosses, since we have no evidence that Andreae had anything at all to do with it. What is known of the public outcry caused by the publication of the manifestos has been told elsewhere.¹⁰ Less familiar are the nearly two hundred published responses from *alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europe*, to whom these manifestos were directed, most of which appeared before 1620. Haselmeyer's *Antwort* and the equally favorable though anonymous *Epistola ad Reverendissimam Fraternitatem Roseae Crucis* (1613) appeared before the *Fama* was even printed; scores of other *Antworten* and *Epistolæ* followed, along with critiques—e.g., Andreas Libavius's *D. O. M. A. Analysis Confessionis Fraternitatis de Rosea Cruce* (1615)—and explications—e.g., Radtichs Brotofferr's *Elucidarius major. Oder Erleuchtung über die Reformation der gantzen weiten Welt / F. C. R. auss ihrer Chymischen Hochzeit* (1617) or the *Practica Leonis Viridis. Das ist: Der rechte und wahre Fussteig zu dem Königlichen Chymischen Hochzeit Saal F. C. R.* (1619) written by "C. V. M. V. S."

⁹ See the entry for 24 November 1597, *Diarium*, I, 415; Montgomery, p. 209.

¹⁰ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 85–92, provides a good overview. He discerns three groups: 1) the enthusiasts, above all the hermeticists, who took the *Fama* verbatim and regarded the society as a reality; 2) the moderate defenders, who saw the actual matter not in the brotherhood but in the announcement of Paracelsian philosophy; and 3) the opponents and detractors, for whom the brotherhood was a "Lucianic" tale (p. 88).

Our main interest here is how the world view of the manifestos coincides with Andreae's other utopian interests. In this chapter we shall first examine Andreae's youthful creation that provided the name and perhaps impetus for the construction of the fable of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, the *Chymische Hochzeit*. Next, the two manifestoes, the *Fama* and *Confessio*, shall be examined as expressions of the utopian interests of Andreae's circles at Tübingen. The two core ideas—the idea of world reformation and the brotherhood of the learned—were rooted in contemporary Lutheranism. At a time when the reformed churches in general were threatened, even their millenarianism would have struck a responsive chord. Finally we shall consider Andreae's efforts to separate himself from the public furor as it developed. As a result of the public reaction, Andreae had to expend much effort throughout his life explaining that it had all been a *ludibrium* and that the “secret” brotherhood a fiction.

A. Chymische Hochzeit

Too often critics treat the *Chymische Hochzeit: Christiani Rosenkreutz. Anno 1459* as if it were written in response to the *Fama* and *Confessio*, when we know that Andreae composed it before, circa 1605, during the interval between his undergraduate and theological studies.¹¹ Furthermore nothing about the published version of 1616—which in fact ends in mid-sentence with an indication that two quarto leaves are missing—suggests that the manuscript had been revised at all.¹² We ought, therefore, to place the tale once again in its originary textual moment and consider it in relationship to the Besold-Hess circles. Given the alchemical interests of his parents and his wide reading, it is likely that Andreae was familiar with the idea of the chemical wedding long before he met Besold or Hess. The major sources would have also been readily available in Besold's library: Paracelsus, Agrippa, Khunrath, Figulus, all avail-

¹¹ Thus Montgomery, p. 228, says “Andreae made Rosenkreutz the hero of the *Hochzeit* not simply to satirize the Rosicrucian myth, but primarily to *christianize the myth*.”

¹² Andreae, *Fama Fraternalitatis* (1614), *Confessio Fraternalitatis* (1615), *Chymische Hochzeit: Christiani Rosenkreutz. Anno 1459* (1616), ed. Richard van Dülmen (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1973), p. 124: “Hie mangeln ungefehr zwey quart Bletlin, und ist er (Autor huius), da er vermeinet, er muste morgens Thorhüter sein, heim kommen.”

able in the recently published *Theatrum Chemicum* (1602). The title character Christian Rosencreutz (spelled with a k only in the title) was most likely Andreae's own creation since the name, a symbol of the central idea of his Christian philosophy, does not appear anywhere before 1605. The rose-cross came from his family's coat of arms, which derived from Luther's. Andreae's originality was in uniting the age-old symbols of the rose, the cross, and the wedding as a symbol of the union of the Lutheran reformation and Christian hermeticism. Closer examination of the *Chymische Hochzeit* will also show that it contains in brief one of the key ideas that motivated Andreae and the Hess-Besold circles—the belief that a spiritual elite could be formed to serve in times of need.

Ezechiel Foxcroft titled his translation appropriately *The Hermetick Romance* (London, published in 1690), for Andreae's work was very much in the mode of the literary romance with all its attendant marvels. The controlling narrative is a pilgrimage to a royal wedding, which is also an allegory for alchemical and spiritual regeneration. The central episode of the chemical marriage is the creation of a homunculus, a feat commonly attributed to Paracelsus, which he described in his *De homunculis*. The rich texture of Andreae's work can only be sketched here.¹³

After evening prayers on Maundy Thursday, the narrator, Christian Rosencreutz, is greeted by a lady, identified in a marginal note as Præconissa, the conveyor of the proclamation of the Gospel, who announces a royal wedding. Her appearance confirms a vision he had had seven years before. That night he dreams he is cast into a dungeon filled with prisoners who can only escape by catching a rope thrown down seven times; on the seventh cast, because he is fortunately standing on the stone of the word (Psalm 61:2), he at last is able to extricate himself. When he awakes, recognizing the premonitory quality of the dream, he dresses in a white linen coat, girds himself with a red ribbon cross-ways, sticks four roses in his hat, and sets out. The narrative of the first three days concerns his pilgrimage and trials; the last four days describe the royal death,

¹³ For detailed studies of this work, see Montgomery, the second volume of whose book provides textual glosses, commentary and analysis; Edighoffer, *Rose-Croix*, pp. 301-39; Oscar Marcel Hinze, *Kosmologische Betrachtungen zur "Chymischen Hochzeit: Christiani Rosenkreutz. anno 1459"* (Bodensee: Moos-Weiler, 1991); and Stanley W. Beeler, *The Invisible College: A Study of the Three Original Rosicrucian Texts* (New York: AMS, 1991).

resurrection, and “wedding” that he witnesses.¹⁴

His experiences on the second and third days recapitulate the action of his dream. From a tablet found on a cedar tree, he learns that he must decide which path to take; when a raven attacks a dove and he rushes to protect it, the decision is unwittingly made. He approaches a royal portal, presents his invitation and calls himself a “Brother of the *Red-Rosie Cross*.”¹⁵ Once admitted to the castle, he meets many other invited guests who vaunt their abilities, accomplishments, and worthiness. Eventually, a maiden in snow-white robes proclaims that each will be “weighed” the following morning. Only a few choose to spend the night in penance with Rosencreutz. On the third morning, only eight can meet the challenge of the golden scales, which are matched with seven massive weights, one for each of the virtues. The heralds specially honor Rosencreutz, who is allowed to grant membership to one not quite qualified; all are given a golden fleece adorned with a flying lion and invited to the wedding. They pass into the garden to witness the punishments of those who failed. Afterwards a unicorn appears; a lion breaks a sword in two and throws the pieces in a fountain; a dove brings an olive branch; and the guests wash their hands and heads in the fountain. Rosencreutz is allowed to visit the royal sepulcher, where the glorious phoenix stands, and the royal library. At a banquet that evening each of the guests proposes a riddle, all of which have an alchemical interpretation; the Lady also gives a mathematical cipher for her name, solved by Rosencreutz (and later by Leibniz): she is Alchima.¹⁶ Finally the Queen, attended by four virgins, comes in and prays.

The tableau by the fountain that greets the chosen ones on the fourth day has been significantly altered, for instead of a sword the Lion bears a tablet that translated reads: “Hermes the Prince. After so many losses sustained by mankind, by the counsel of God: with the help of art, a healthful medicine is made, here I flow. Let him who is able drink from me: let him wash, who wishes: let him dis-

¹⁴ Montgomery, pp. 276-83, describes the complexities of the allegory in which the events of the first three days parallel those of the last four.

¹⁵ The English version, *The Hermetick Romance: or the Chymical Wedding*, trans. Ezechiell Foxcroft (London, 1690), is available in facsimile in Montgomery's second volume and in *A Christian Rosenkreutz Anthology*, ed. Paul M. Allen (Blauvelt, NY: Rudolf Steiner, 1981). Quotations will be cited from both the facsimile edition, p. 27, and Allen, p. 80.

¹⁶ Montgomery, p. 381.

turb me who dares: Drink, Brothers, and Live.”¹⁷ Here the brotherhood bathes and drinks before viewing a spectacle that foreshadows all that will be viewed in the remaining four days: a princess, captured by a Moor, is rescued and betrothed to the king’s son, but begins to act wantonly and consents to be the Moor’s concubine; the young King battles for his betrothed despite her apparent unfaithfulness and appears to die at the hands of the Moors; after he is revived, they are wed. All proclaim, *VIVAT SPONSUS, VIVAT SPONSA*. After the spectacle, they are fêted and another, far more complex, series of mysteries begins that reenacts this same drama of death, rebirth, and marriage. The events also correspond to the alchemical death, rebirth, and marriage in the great work.¹⁸ After six royal persons are beheaded by a Moor, the Virgin (Alchimia) tells them, “*The Life of these standeth now in your hands, and in case you follow me, this Death shall make many alive.*”¹⁹ A fleet of royal ships conveys the coffins across a lake to a laboratory where a solution is made from the corpses; in a golden globe a snow white egg is produced that hatches into a blue bird that is beheaded and cremated. From these ashes a homunculus and homunucula are fashioned, which are brought to life as the new king and queen, who then sail home for their wedding feast. The brotherhood is clothed in yellow habits with golden fleeces and declared Knights of the Golden Stone; they also bear a white ensign with a red cross just as Rosencreutz was arrayed when he ventured forth. At the banquet the articles or *leges* of this brotherhood are given:

- I. You my Lords the Knights shall swear, that you shall at no time ascribe your order either unto any *Devil* or Spirit, but only to God your *Creator*, and his hand-maid *Nature*.
- II. That you will Abominate all Whoredom, Incontinency and Uncleaness, and not defile your order with such Vices.
- III. That you through your Talents will be ready to assist all that are worthy, and have need of them.

¹⁷ *The Hermetick Romance*, p. 98 [Allen, p. 114].

¹⁸ Montgomery, pp. 277-83, lists the steps as: distillation, calcination, putrefaction, solution-dissolution, coagulation, vivification, and projection; other possibilities are mentioned.

¹⁹ *The Hermetick Romance*, pp. 123-24 [Allen, p. 127].

IV. That you desire not to employ this honour to worldly Pride and high Authority.

V. That you shall not be willing to live longer than God will have you.²⁰

Having been invested, the pilgrim at last reveals his true name, Christian Rosencreutz, as he inscribes it in the book of life.

Late in his life Andreae wrote slightlyly about this youthful work, even amazed that it had drawn such attention or was so popular (three editions were issued within twelve months). He wrote, “The *Nuptiae Chymicae* survives in contrast [to his writings that did not], with its fecund brood of monstrosities: a *ludibrium* that you may wonder was valued by some and explicated with such subtle ingenuity, and certainly this shows the inanity of the curious.”²¹ The story of the “invisible” appearance of the brotherhood in Paris in 1623 is well known and can serve as an example of the *inanitatem* to which Andreae referred, as can the hundreds of responses and commentaries to the Rosicrucian manifestos, which are mostly of the subtly ingenious kind that Andreae derided.

A full-scale analysis of the *Chymische Hochzeit* lies beyond the scope of this study, but a few key points need to be set forth. First, in the passage quoted above, Andreae described the work as a *ludibrium*. As a “jest” or “mockery” it satirizes deceitful alchemists and other fools—i.e., those who seek entry to the wedding but are found unworthy—while extolling the spiritual renewal possible through esoteric alchemy. One of his main purposes, as several critics have noted, is to advance a Christian purpose.²² Secondly, Andreae’s romance is a youthful work filled with wit and humor. Especially noteworthy is the comic character of Alchimia, who tries to seduce Christian and whose actions lend a light, amusing character to the whole. The narrative is studded with enigmas and riddles that demonstrate the young author’s wit and abilities. One tour de force involves the Virgins’ “premeditated device” to cozen the brotherhood into thinking they are being given bedmates for the evening. Andreae’s mathematical prowess is displayed in the con-

²⁰ *The Hermetick Romance*, pp. 219-20 [Allen, p. 159].

²¹ *Vita*, p. 10 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 16]: “Superfuerunt e contra Nuptiae Chymicae, cum monstrorum foecundo foetu, ludibrium, quod mireris a nonnullis aestimatum et subtili indagine explicatum, plane futile et quod inanitatem curiosorum prodat.”

²² Edighoffer, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” p. 227, has even suggested that it is not really an alchemical work, since Christian symbols no longer stand in service to alchemy; rather they are the phases in the Christian mystery of salvation.

struction of a circular arrangement in which Virgins end up paired with Virgins, despite the direction in which the counting proceeds.²³ Finally, and most importantly for this study, the *Chymische Hochzeit* describes the kind of elite brotherhood to which Andreae and his associates in Tübingen aspired. Clothed in special habits and bearing a white ensign with a red cross, purified by symbolic trials, the Knights of the Golden Stone pledged obedience to God and loyalty to their ideals, vowing to assist all that were worthy of their talents. The similarities with the brotherhoods described in the *Fama* and *Confessio* are striking. The fable of Christian Rosencreutz, thus, is a composite of Chaucerian *ernest and game*, the risible and the grotesque, whose purpose was to ridicule the deceitful while proclaiming the spiritual renewal possible through a Christian hermeticism (though no specifics are offered about this mystical path).²⁴ Its author was just nineteen, and while his youth was evident in the loose narrative and the fanciful details, so too were the utopian aspirations that would characterize his life's work.

B. Fama Fraternitatis and Confessio Fraternitatis

Unlike the *Chymische Hochzeit*, which is really directed toward the renewal of its hero, the *Fama* has a much broader scope: for its elite brotherhood would foster a general renewal of the inner life. While its authors promised that a door would be opened to all of Europe, they were especially concerned with "the whole Fatherland of the German Nation."²⁵ That the manifesto was written in German instead of Latin underscored this point. Undoubtedly the Hess-Besold circles in Tübingen provided one prototype for this brotherhood; the Jesuits, the ultimate secret society, provided another. Andreae's faith in the efficacy of a spiritual elite from within his own church may very well have been bolstered by the success of the Jesuits, who, concerned with counteracting moral decay, achieved their goals, it was widely believed, through subterfuge and secret

²³ *The Hermetick Romance*, pp. 106-8 [Allen, pp. 118-19]. See Montgomery, p. 399, for an explanation.

²⁴ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 71.

²⁵ *Fama*, ed. van Dülmen, p. 124: "diese Fraternitet würde in kurtzem nicht so geheim, sondern dem gemeinen Vatterland Teutscher Nation behülflich, nohtwendig und rühmlich sein."

knowledge. The anti-Jesuit barbs in Andreae's utopian writings, in my opinion, actually measure his envy of their success more than his insecurity. In the forward to the first edition of the *Fama*, the publisher also declared that Haselmeyer had since been clapped into the galleys because he had named the Rosicrucians as the "echte Jesuiten" in his *Antwort* and called upon the "undeceitful Jesuits" to set him free.²⁶ (Most of the utopian societies we shall examine in the next chapter likewise set themselves against the Jesuits explicitly.)

While Andreae never avowed authorship of the *Fama* as he did for the *Chymische Hochzeit*, neither did he disavow it nor name anyone else. His friends seemed to know (as Besold's marginal comments, quoted above, reveal). In content, form, and style the *Fama* is considerably different from his other writings, even from the *Chymische Hochzeit*; however, when compared to the later Rosicrucian writings (of others), its kinship with the riddling, enigmatic, and above all playful method of the *Chymische Hochzeit* is evident.²⁷ We do not know just when this collaborative manifesto was written, but certainly before 1610 when it was already circulating in manuscript in the Tyrol. Edighoffer has proposed that Andreae, who saw himself as a Christian Hercules capable of rescuing church and state from its moral decline, wrote the *Fama* just after his expulsion from Tübingen (in 1607) as compensation for his disappointments.²⁸ This seems about right. All three Rosicrucian works are tied together through the imaginary hero Christian Rosencreutz, whose name brought to mind the shield of Luther and his own honored grandfather, Jacob Andreae. The creation of the name Christian Rosencreutz must be credited to Andreae; no one has discovered its use prior to 1605.²⁹ Since Rosencreutz was

²⁶ *Allgemeine und General Reformation* (Kassel, 1614), p. 3: the published called for the "unbetrügelichen [i.e., *unbetrügerischen*] Jesuiten" to step forward. This anti-Jesuitical preface appeared in both the early Kassel editions. Haselmeyer apparently was imprisoned in a galley in the Mediterranean from 1611 to 1614.

²⁷ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 74.

²⁸ Edighoffer, "Johann Valentin Andreae," p. 223.

²⁹ Confraternities bore similar names however. The *Legende von sant Anna* (Strasbourg, 1501), Sig. H3^v, described a Brüderschaft des Rosenkrantz that was revived at the University of Cologne in 1475. The confraternity also had published *Fraternitas Rosaceae Coronae* (Cologne, 1498). See *Catalogue of a Collection of Early German Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*, ed. Hugh William Davies, 2 vols. (London: Holland, 1962), pp. 307-10.

born in 1378 (the year of the death of Karl IV)—as indicated in the *Confessio* and cryptographically in the *Chymische Hochzeit*—and his tomb was “discovered” in 1604 after 120 years, he therefore died at the time of Luther’s birth (given variously as 1483 or 1484).³⁰ The year 1604 was fraught with chiliastic significance: “new stars” had appeared in the constellations Serpentarius and Cygnus, mentioned specifically in the *Fama*, which Kepler had written about in *De stella nova in pede Serpentarii* (1606); a heavenly portent in the form of a fiery triangle was observed that was thought to appear every 800 years, having heralded Charlemagne and Christ before him; the third age predicted by Joachim of Fiore was expected; and it was the year Studion completed his millenarian prophecy.³¹ The *Fama* was thus situated auspiciously.

Since the purpose of the *Fama* was to make known the fraternity and call for a declaration of support, it is mainly an originary tale, purportedly based on the autobiography of its founder: a young German boy C. R. is cloistered where he learns Latin and Greek and presumably all the wisdom of the west; he travels east with an elder brother, whose death frees him to travel throughout the Middle East, as far north as Damascus, south to Damcar in Arabia Felix, and back through Egypt to Fez, where he learns the secrets of their wise men. (It was commonly believed that an esoteric wisdom had been first revealed to the Hebrew prophets, then passed along in turn to the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans, and finally to the Arabs.) Arabic *Magia* and the *Cabala* are specifically mentioned, as well as mathematics and physics; knowledge of alchemical secrets is implied. Though C. R. is remarkably ecumenical, admitting value in other faiths and even finding better grounds for his Christian faith from Islam, he nonetheless recognizes that *Magia* of the Arabs is not pure because of their religion. So, after a three year sojourn, he returns to Germany via Spain to found a society to spread this wisdom. With three brethren C. R. compiles a number of philosophical works, including a work translated from Arabic, the book

³⁰ See *The Fame and Confession*, p. 43; *The Hermetick Romance*, p. 98 [Allen, p. 115]. Luther’s birth year was previously given as 1484 or 1483. Edighoffer, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” p. 224, points out that Rosencreutz’s birth year of 1378 coincides with the flowering of Swabian cities following their victory over Ulrich of Württemberg in the battle of Reutlingen. Montgomery, p. 169 n. 31, also points out that 1378 marked the outset of the Great Schism.

³¹ See van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 83–84.

M. that Paracelsus himself is said to have studied (they also have a full “Philosophical Bibliotheca”—i.e., the *Axiomata*, the *Rota Mundi*, and the *Proteus*); he also constructs a magical language and script, compiles a large dictionary, and builds a new building, the *Sancti spiritus*.³² They begin admitting others, eight in all, who separate into other countries, though they are all bound by six rules:

1. That none of them should profess any other thing, then to cure the sick, and that *gratis*.
2. None of the Posterity should be constrained to wear one certain kind of habit, but therein to follow the custom of the Country.
3. That every year upon the day *C.* they should meet together at the house *S. Spiritus*, or write the cause of his absence.
4. Every Brother should look about for a worthy person, who after his discease might succeed him.
5. The word *C. R.* should be their Seal, Mark, and Character.
6. The Fraternity should remain secret one hundred years.³³

Before his death Brother *C. R.* builds a special vault with a sacred seven-sided geometry in the *Sancti spiritus*, the door to which will be opened in 120 years just as a door shall be opened in Europe. Now that the tomb has been discovered, the brotherhood can proclaim their *fama*. To those who answer this invitation discreetly and Christian-like, they will make known their names publicly. The brothers profess their Lutheran orthodoxy and claim to be the heirs of the *prisca theologia* of Adam, Moses, Solomon: as Jesus is the true image of the Father, so their *philosophia* is the true image of Christ. Finally they decry those who pretend to transform metals into gold, for the true philosopher

doth not rejoyce, that he can make Gold [in the German editions the alchemical symbol ☉ was used], and that, as saith Christ, the devils are obedient unto him; but is glad that he seeth the Heavens open, and the Angels of God ascending and descending, and his name written in the book of life.³⁴

³² *M.* may mean *Mundi*, *Memoriae*, but most likely *Microcosmographiae*, for we read in the *Elogium* that “mundum minutum omnibus motibus magno illi respondentem fabricasset hocque tandem preteritarum, præsentium, & futurarum, rerum compendio extracto [he constructed a small world corresponding in all motions to the greater, having finally drawn up this compendium of things past, present, and to come]” (*The Fame and Confession*, p. 24). Edighoffer, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” p. 226, finds so many similarities to Paracelsus that he calls the *Fama* an “*Evangelium des Paracelsus*.”

³³ *The Fame and Confession*, pp. 14–15.

³⁴ *The Fame and Confession*, p. 30.

The *Fama* is optimistic about the power of reason as a divine light capable of fathoming the mysteries of nature. What it proposed was an idea Andreae would pursue most of his life: a union of Christian scholars who would dedicate themselves to a Christian hermeticism for the renewal of the world. This goal differs little from the *Imago* of 1620, which also alluded to a secret wisdom to be shared with other worthy souls.

As is clear from even the first response to the *Fama*, the allure of secret wisdom was powerful. Having gained access to the *Fama* in manuscript despite living in the little Tyrolian dorf of Heiligen Kreutz, Haselmeyer regarded the Brotherhood of the Rose Cross as harbingers to "Elias the Artist."³⁵ Paracelsus had prophesied that when Elijah returned, as foretold in the Bible, he would come as a magus to reveal three treasures, the most precious of which, wisdom, had always been carefully preserved from the vulgar. The forthcoming revelations of the brotherhood's secrets were preparing the way for this advent. Haselmeyer believed further that Paracelsus had predicted the "Lion of Midnight" would arise to slay the cruel fiend just after the death of Rudolph II.³⁶ Though Haselmeyer knew of the *Fama* by 1610 and had then resolved to reply (and may have been urged to do so by Prince August of Anhalt-Köthen), he waited to publish his *Antwort* until some time after Rudolph's demise on 2 January 1612. The full title of his response, *An die Lobwürdige Brüderschafft der Theosophen vom Rosenkreutz N. N.*, hailed them as theosophists who had rent the dark clouds obscuring the light of true wisdom. He clearly believed that God had sent the brothers to spread the knowledge of the eternal philosophy, which for him was synonymous with Paracelsianism. He eagerly awaited the many secrets of their spiritual alchemy in the *Rota Mundi* (the title given to their summa in the *Fama*). Finally, he linked their appearance with another mysterious prophecy, the coming of "der Löw von Mitternacht" who would defeat the fiend and aid the Protestant church. In this the year of judgment, 1612, the *renovatio*

³⁵ On Elias the Artist, see Will-Erich Peuckert, *Das Rosenkreutz*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Schmidt, 1973), pp. 36-38.

³⁶ This second prophecy actually derives from the Pseudo-Paracelsian, "Propheceyung vom Löwen auß Mitternacht," Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek, MS. Nor. H. 266 (2), whose title page indicates it was owned by "Adamus Haselmaier Tyrolensis." See Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr: Der erste Verkünder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer* (Amsterdam: Pelikaan, 1994), pp. 83-92.

foretold in the Petrine epistle and Revelation would begin.³⁷

Publishing Haselmeyer's response with the first edition of the *Fama* was a shrewd move: if made by the authors themselves, the "brotherhood" was linked intellectually to Paracelsus whose iatrochemical principles were increasingly gaining acceptance; if made by the printer, it sanctioned the "brotherhood" and gave them momentum (which could explain why it was dispensed with after the works themselves became popular). The forward clearly was written by the printer to generate human interest for Haselmeyer, then suffering in jail at the hands of the Jesuits. Haselmeyer, we also learn, has compiled an extract from the theological writings of Paracelsus and has written a tract *Jesu Iter* about how every Christian should be a true "Jesuit." Such advertising was of course quite common. When the secret fraternity was formally announced through the print editions of the *Fama* two years later, a flood of published letters to the order ensued. A collection of these is now in the library of the University of Göttingen; one can only speculate on how many were written and left to be found. These letters testify to the great respect in which the order was held; they also are filled with testimonials of the writer's qualifications in occult wisdom, hoping to be received and baptized into the order.³⁸

The *Confessio* was published in a bilingual (Latin-German) edition with the *Fama* by the same publisher the following year (1615). Since both works had the same provenance and both referred intertextually to one another, from then on, these two were always published together as the essential Rosicrucian manifestos.³⁹ The *Confessio*, in my judgment, was written about 1614 to capitalize on the developing phenomenon, at least two responses having already

³⁷ *Allgemeine und General Reformation*, pp. 129-47: There has been a tendency to read this enigmatic reference—"Dem *Leonij* von Mitternacht, der voller Christlicher Lehr ist, vorzuleuchten, im Liecht Christi, und der Natur heylichthumb, auff daß das *impurum imperfectum Diabolicum* der heydnischen Meister gantz *reveliret* und *confundiret* werde" (144)—as pointing to the relatively unknown eighteen-year old Gustavus Adolphus who had just become king. On the other hand, Gilly, pp. 85-89, based on recently discovered documents by Hess, argues convincingly that the lion who would open the seven seals of Revelation 5:1-5 was meant.

³⁸ See Johann Gottlieb Buhle, *Über den Ursprung und die vornehmsten Schicksale der Orden der Rosenkreuzer und Freymaurer* (Göttingen, 1804).

³⁹ The *Allgemeine und General Reformation* was published again at Frankfurt (1615), Amsterdam? (1615), and Frankfurt (1617) though it appeared at the end rather than the beginning of the volume.

found their way into print. Most observers have assumed that the two manifestos were written at about the same time (i.e., sometime before 1610) because of this intertextuality. No one seems to have seen the *Confessio* until it was published in 1615. We can safely assume that Haselmeyer had not seen the *Confessio* before penning his enthusiastic *Antwort*, because he did not mention it anywhere yet otherwise paid careful attention to the details of the brotherhood: since he mentioned specifically that he awaited the multilingual editions of the *Fama*, the absence of any references to the *Confessio* is telling.⁴⁰ We also know that Prince August of Anhalt-Köthen was prepared to publish the two manifestos together in late 1611, but the *Confessio* could not be found (his former intermediary Haselmeyer was then in prison).⁴¹ Thus mentioning a forthcoming *Confessio* in the *Fama* seems an advertisement for a future project not yet complete. The dating of the *Confessio*, in which Andreae clearly had a hand, is significant because it provides the best evidence of his participation in utopian projects with Hess as late as 1614.

While it has been suggested that the world views of the two manifestos were different, it is more a matter of emphasis.⁴² The *Confessio* was less explicitly Lutheran and more vehemently anti-Roman Catholic; it emphasized the Rosicrucian brotherhood as part of a reformation to prepare for a new age in which the Pope would finally be overthrown; it made more of the hermetic secrets to be revealed. Curiously, though, Andreae chose not to include any passages from the more orthodox *Fama* for the *Theca gladii spiritus*.

While the *Fama* had promised to reveal secrets from the book *M*. “in our Confession, where we do set down 37 Reasons wherefore we now do make known our Fraternity,” the *Confessio* itself de-

⁴⁰ I take Haselmeyer's statement that we find joy springing into our hearts from your editions (“So befinden wir auß ewern in unseren Herten springenden freudenreichen Editionen,” *Allgemeine und General Reformation*, p. 130) to be a reference to the manuscripts of the *Fama*.

⁴¹ Letter, August of Anhalt-Köthen to Karl Widemann, December 1611, Hannover MS, IV 341, fol. 542; cited by Carlos Gilly, “Iter Rosicrucianum auf der Suche nach unbekannten Quellen der frühen Rosenkreuzer,” in *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz* (Amsterdam: Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1988), p. 76. In a July 1612 letter, the Prince in fact suggested that the doctor at Tübingen (Widemann wrote “Dr. Tobias Hess zue Tübingen” in the margin) might provide a copy because he was supposed to have the *Fama* (p. 76).

⁴² See Edighoffer, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” pp. 225-26; and van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 88.

murred, acknowledging that parables, figures and pictures were still necessary.⁴³ From its opening chiliastic note, however, the tone is more insistent: to wit, since the course of Nature has been turned [“den Lauff der Natur umbwendet”] in preparation for the Lord’s Sabbath almost at hand, the secret Book of Nature was more decipherable than ever. The appearance of heavenly portents in the constellations of Serpentarius and Cygnus gave a further breath of urgency to their movement. A few more details about the fraternity emerged: it was to be divided into degrees; its leaders would help the monarchs govern Europe along utopian lines; the Bible was the sum and content of their rule. Whereas false alchemists (those who only claim to be able to transform metals) were disparaged, every character inscribed in the Book of Nature still had to be learned. While the *Confessio* warned that “excellent Wits ought not to be drawn to the Tincture of *Metals*, before they be exercised well in the knowledge of Nature,” by implication a different kind of alchemy was in fact being endorsed.⁴⁴ The wisdom lost by Adam – the sum of all that God has revealed or mankind discovered – was again being freely made available to the learned of Europe. All those who would learn these secrets were urged to come forward and answer the call. And of course many all over Europe did just that.

Why had the *Fama* been written by Andreae and his friends? Quite simply, to serve anonymously the cause of reform. Why was it published several years later? To capitalize on the already public response of Haselmayer (1612) and so to accelerate the movement. Both manifestos were from the press of Wilhelm Wessell, an official printer to Moritz, Landgrave of Kassel, whose court was a flourishing center for alchemy and Paracelsian medicine where many notable occultists were living.⁴⁵ The rationale for the publication of these two manifestos is clear; less so, is the rationale for the *Chymische Hochzeit*. It was published in an octavo format in 1616 at Strasbourg by Lazarus Zetzner, i. e., at a time when the furor was raging and while Andreae was struggling to establish himself as an orthodox churchman. Though it appeared anonymously, as did

⁴³ *The Fame and Confession*, pp. 17, 53.

⁴⁴ *The Fame and Confessio*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ See Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1527-1632)*, Sudhoffs Archiv, No. 29 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991).

almost all of his earlier works, Andreae was widely known as the author. Since the text begins on the page bearing the signature mark Aii (and the title page is Ai), it is quite clear that no prefatory material could have been intended. If Andreae himself were trying to capitalize on the growing interest in the origins of Christian Rosencreutz, we might expect some commendatory, dedicatory, explanatory, or introductory matter of the sort that decked out early editions of the manifestos. In 1617 Andreae was already trying to distance himself from the turmoil through his published satires, not to stir it up. Unless more evidence is uncovered, however, the question of whether Andreae had a hand personally in the publication of the *Chymische Hochzeit* cannot be resolved.

We know that Andreae's first work, *De Christiani Cosmoxeni genitura* was published without his knowledge by a friend Johann Stossel, so there is indeed precedent, but we have very little evidence either way.⁴⁶ One textual clue may be the editorial intrusion on the third day that alludes to a short treatise on the phoenix written two years before. No such treatise is known to exist, though it has been suggested that he was referring to his 1614 *Summa* of Hafenreffer or a 1603 translation of a Christ-centered devotional work.⁴⁷ The phrasing in the text is also instructive here, since Andreae wrote "außkommen lassen" not "drucken." In an age when manuscript circles were so common, the distinction between letting something come out and printing is crucial. Other references to publishing projects are equally ambiguous: e.g., he will let a catalogue "ans Liecht kommen."⁴⁸ Indeed, the very motto on the title page, "Mysteries published are made vile; and profaned things lose their grace. Therefore, cast not pearls before swine or strew roses before an ass" – taken from Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae* – would be more apt for a manuscript work circulating privately rather than a published volume. Johann Friedrich Jung, a pupil of Arndt and friend to Besold from Strasbourg, has been suggested as the publisher by van Dülmen.⁴⁹ It is also possible the betrayal by

⁴⁶ *Vita*, pp. 45-46 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 70].

⁴⁷ *The Hermetick Romance*, p. 75 [Allen, p. 103]; the German text is from van Dülmen's edition, p. 76. See also Montgomery, p. 365.

⁴⁸ *The Hermetick Romance*, p. 76 [Allen, p. 104]; the German text is from van Dülmen's edition, p. 77.

⁴⁹ van Dülmen, p. 67. Kienast, pp. 36-37, believes it was Besold who either published it himself or occasioned its publication at the very least.

the “false brother,” referred to in his autobiography, involved the publication of these manuscripts at a time when he could have least appreciated it as he was trying to grow in the Lutheran church.⁵⁰ From that time forth, he was forced to defend himself and his ideas vigorously. Such conjectures, however well they may fit the psycho-biography constructed above, must be acknowledged as suppositional until more evidence is uncovered.

C. Andreae's Satiric Self-Defense

In the aftermath of the publication of the manifestos, Andreae began almost at once to separate himself from the Rosicrucian furor through his writings, especially his satires. A reception history of the Rosicrucian “brotherhood” from Andreae's own work in the aftermath of the outcry reveals that his admiration for their aims (which he had helped draft) was being offset by his repugnance to the public response. First of all, Andreae selected twenty-eight *sententiae* from the Latin text of the *Confessio* for the *Theca* that featured some general Christian verities and an endorsement of learning; he downplayed the chiliasm and eschewed all references to the Rosicrucians themselves or their political mission in Europe. For example, the conventional view that God had written in the Book of the Creatures as well as Scripture can be found in the *Confessio*:

Ejusmodi characteres atque adeo Alphabetum suum sicut DEUS sparsim SS. Bibliis inseruit, ita in admirando Creationis opere Caelis, Terrae, Animalibus manifeste impressit.

This same idea appears again in the *Theca*:

Characteres Deus et suum alphabetum sparsim Sacris Biblijs inseruit; ceu quoque in admirando creationis opere coelis, terrae, animalibus manifeste impressit.

Edighoffer regards these selections as a clever attempt to correct or amend the *Confessio*.⁵¹ (Andreae also included passages from an un-

⁵⁰ *Vita*, p. 129 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 146].

⁵¹ See Edighoffer's analysis of the selections, “Johann Valentin Andreae,” p. 226, and in *Rose-Croix*, pp. 288-300; he also includes the selections in an appendix in the second volume of *Rose-Croix*, xv-xix.

published work, *Invitatio fraternitatis Christi*, that helped mark off his own ground.)

Even more telling are the revisions to the dialogue on a secret brotherhood in the *Menippus*. Whatever his aspirations for this earlier, "Rosicrucian" version of a utopian brotherhood and whatever his part in the publication of the manifestos, Andreae clearly was troubled by the spectacle it had become. By 1617 the idea had provoked sufficient misunderstanding in the public eye that Andreae devoted the twelfth chapter of his satirical *Menippus*, titled "Fraternitas," to them.⁵² In the dialogue two characters discussed whether this phenomenon were simply *curiosorum ludibrium*. One defended the brothers by suggesting that "Perhaps the curious seek not what the brothers seem to urge – concord and imitation of Christ – but seek miracles in nature and ease in their lives." The other responded: "Wearied of the world I really wished with all my spirit to go over to them, with no thought for profit." Now that they have come under suspicion as magicians and charlatans, he has simply given up hope.⁵³ This dialogue reveals that the Rosicrucian "brothers" were already identified in the public eye as vulgar alchemists or gold seekers (whereas both manifestos inveighed against this kind of alchemy, a point Haselmeyer also emphasized).⁵⁴

⁵² In his *Vita*, pp. 46-47 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 71-72], he referred to his *Menippus* as a frank but innocuous satire that used humor and wit for pious ends.

⁵³ *Menippus, sive Dialogorum Satyricorum Centuria* (Helicon near Parnassus [Strasbourg], 1617), pp. 24-25: A: "Forte non id quærunt, quod illi videntur urgere, Christi consensum & imitationem, sed Naturæ miracula vitæ subsidia." B: "Ego sane integro animo Mundi pertesus ad illos migrare volui, nullo lucri intuitu." When asked if he has given up hope, B replies "Propemodum, nam & in Magorum, aut impostorum suspicionem veniunt, magnis proditi & convicti voluminibus." In the later edition, p. 25, "hæreticorum, ut aiunt" was added to this list of suspicions.

⁵⁴ Haselmeyer, *Allgemeine und General Reformation*, p. 138, hailed these worthy German brothers precisely because you "das Goldmachen nur für ein *parergon* achtet, und tausendmahl höher *Magnalia* habt, darmit ihr auch Gott, und der Natur Liecht (wie Theophrast)." Andreae had already made a jab at false alchemists and magicians in an earlier satire; the fourth act of his *Turbo* is about an alchemist Beger (a play on Geber, the eighth century Arab practitioner Dschabir Ibn Haijin, father of European alchemy), who relieves Turbo of his money all the while promising that they are on the verge of major discoveries. Since *Turbo* was written in 1610 (then published in 1616), it could only have been directed against the frauds who were setting themselves up as Rosicrucian brothers in a general way. See *Vita*, pp. 26-28 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 41-44], and Hugh Powell, "A Neglected Faustian Drama and Its Cultural Roots in Seventeenth-Century Germany," in *Faust through Four Centuries: Retrospect and Analysis/Vierhundert Jahre Faust: Rückblick und Analyse*, Peter Boerner and Sidney Johnson, ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), pp. 65-77.

The textual revisions to this chapter in the second edition of the *Menippus* (1618) show that Andreae's disapproval of the so-called brotherhood had intensified in just one year.⁵⁵ Some of the changes are subtle, such as the response to the opening sally concerning how one felt about that fraternity everyone was talking about. The first edition has *Minus quam ante magnifice* while the second leaves out "than before," a revision that makes the character's position more static. More significant was the replacement of the sympathetic defense of their aims by "A." quoted above with the more judgmental: "Certainly the curious deserved it, for they preferred some artificial and unusual way to the simple way of Christ."⁵⁶ These changes emphasize that Andreae's views were not unequivocally negative as a naive reading of the satires might indicate, but show that he was changing his attitude—no doubt in reaction to mounting public opinion. Andreae had long known that humankind could be betrayed by false brothers. In the eighth chapter of *De Christiani Cosmoxeni genitura*, titled "De Fratribus, sororibus, affinibus &c." he argued that because we have two diverse fathers, Christ and Adam, we have two kinds of brothers figuratively, Jacobs and Esaus. From the one come love, concord, education, mutual help, condolence, counsel, and equality in Christ. From the other come furor, carnage, calumny, rapine, pride, hatred, and so forth.⁵⁷ At this point he no doubt felt plagued by Esaus.

In the same year he published the *Menippus*, he also offered a work that he later said was expressly opposed to that Rosicrucian *ludibrium*.⁵⁸ Andreae's *Invitatio fraternitatis Christi* was published anonymously at Strasbourg in 1617 with only a title page dedication to *Ad Sacri Amoris Candidatos* and a quotation from Matthew 12:50. Its

⁵⁵ Montgomery, pp. 180-83, first noted these revisions.

⁵⁶ *Menippus* (Cosmopolis [Strasbourg?], 1618), pp. 24-25: "Id nempe debebatur, quibus prae simplicis Christi artificiosa aliqua & insolita arriserat."

⁵⁷ *De Christiani Cosmoxeni genitura, Judicium*, 3rd ed. (Strasbourg, 1619), p. 213: "Ibi frater fratrem ut caelestem colit, ut patrem aut institutorem respicit, ut filium amat, ut hominem fert, & corrigit. Hic frater fratrem ut Idolum adorat, frater fratrem ut brutum conculcat, mactat, excruciat, frater fratris carnes epulatur, sudorem, & sanguinem bibit. Itaque noster Iacobitas tantum fratres agnoscit, reliquos commiseratur, sed vitat, & quam maximè ab ijs cavet, & *Fraternitatem* eam quam *Iesus* primus & supremus frater instituit, sanctè, candidè & constanter colit, & cum reliquis membris *Vnum, concors*, divinumquè *Corpus* constituit."

⁵⁸ In his *Vita*, p. 46 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 71], he wrote that the *Invitatio* (1617-1618) was expressly *ludibrio illi Rosencruciano oppositam*.

very title indicated that he was offering fellowship in another sort of society, the universal church. The Rosicrucians were not named though the psychological pressures to define anew—or refine—his understanding of the true nature of brotherhood in Christ calls forth their specter. Indeed the very discussions of the nature of brotherhood here and in his satires point to his continuing involvement in the issue. Andreae believed that Christianity itself is nothing other than a brotherhood of those who have renounced worldly desires and joined together fraternally in Christ, who has already instituted the perfect confraternity.⁵⁹ Andreae may even have cast a sideways glance at the claims for a secret wisdom being bruited about by the Rosicrucian brothers, when he stated that in the brotherhood of Christ he hoped there would be neither divine mysteries, nor nature's arcana, nor the contemplation of very strange or rare things; but the Christian who was informed by the example of the Apostles and Saints, who set limits on human wisdom, would one day be rewarded with an inexhaustible treasure.⁶⁰

The following year he published a second part to his invitation, further described on its title page as a *Parænetica*, i.e., a work that sought to inculcate moral principles. Andreae presented twenty-four activities that would revitalize church life for the "fraternity of Christ," which range from accepting the divine *imperium* with the Father as *rector*, Christ as *mediator*, and the Spirit as *illuminator* (task number 1), to accepting *Scripturæ perfectio* that enables and perfects all things (task number 23). The last task was observing the unfolding of world history, i.e., its divine harmony, the secret concord of the times, and the fulfillment of types. Andreae expressed the same general concern about the dire conditions of the world and the necessity of a renewal in both parts of the *Invitatio*—just as the manifes-

⁵⁹ *Invitatio fraternitatis Christi* (Strasbourg, 1617), p. 7: "ut Christianismus noster nihil fere aliud sit quam Fraternitas quædam magna eorum, qui renunciato Mundi & Voluptatum ejus amore, in uno capite, & fonte amoris Christo conspirant." See also pp. 23-24: "Atqui Christus dum perfectæ amicitiae & fraternitatis societatem instituit, utraque hæc expellit, & nec opulentum, nec præeminentem ferre potest, sed quicumque fraternitati huic nomen dare vellent, veluti complanatos esse cupit, scilicet."

⁶⁰ *Invitatio*, p. 61: "Et speramus in hac DEI schola nec Divina mysteria, nec Naturæ arcana, nec inusitatarum & rarissimarum rerum contemplationem nobis defuturam; ut qui quantum institutione valeat jam ante Apostolorum & Sanctorum suorum exemplo edocuit, ac potissimum ubi humana sapientia definit, Mundique scientia in nobis colliquescit, ille tunc suas opes expandit, inexhaustosque thesauros aperit ac liberalissimè distribuit."

tos had – but he cautioned that one should observe these millenarian events not as the vain or curious do, but with open eyes.⁶¹

The restrained satiric dialogue in the *Menippus* and the supplications in the *Invitatio* evidently did not satisfy him – or his ire increased – for he devoted an entire work with twenty-five witty scenes, *Turris Babel, sive Judiciorum de Fraternitate Rosaceae Crucis Chaos* (1619), to the Rosicrucians. As was his practice Andreae had the book published anonymously, though he signed the dedicatory preface to Heinrich Hein with his initials. The biting satire of the title played on the ideal of a movement uniting men of all languages, whereas a Tower of Babel had been the actual result, a veritable chaos among the learned caused by the *Fama* and the *Confessio* along with the proliferating Rosicrucian tracts. The preface reveals nonetheless how conflicted Andreae was about the furor he had helped create, for he stated that was reluctant to say anything further, though he wanted to assure Hein – who would later found a society, *Antilia*, based on Andreae's own model – and his other friends of his *consensum* for them.

See, oh noble Hein, I use these arguments against *that invisible fraternity*, namely a *Report against the report*. Meanwhile I have avoided many absurdities, which I have noted here also, lest I should accomplish nothing. Not that I have done enough, which I know by the objections of many: but I did not want to do even this much: I do it rather to reveal my common feelings for you and my other friends, and at the same time to show to others how I have avoided a more vehement disposition in this matter. . . . I have wrought ingenuously what I wished, and among so many guessing, I have added my own conjectures. If any transgresses, what wonder, when today so many are deceived and deceive? May Christ himself preserve you from all error, and also join us in himself and to himself! Farewell to you and our friends and again be well.⁶²

⁶¹ *Invitationis Ad Fraternitatem Christi Pars Altera* (Strasbourg, 1618), p. 58: “non ut vanæ aut nimie curiositati deserviamus, sed ut cum Elisæ puero, oculos habeamus in Dei tam operibus quam verbis, apertiores.” For task number 1, see p. 20; task number 23, pp. 56–57; number 24, pp. 57–60.

⁶² *Turris Babel, sive Judiciorum de Fraternitate Rosaceae Crucis Chaos* (Strasbourg, 1619), pp. 3–4: “Vide Optime Heini, quibus rationibus contra *Fraternitatem illam invisibilem* utar, *Famâ* scilicet *contra famam*. Interim multas ineptias evitavi, quas, ne, nihilagerem, huc connotavi. Non, satis feci, quod scio, multorum objectionibus: sed ne hoc quidem facere volui: id potius ago, ut tibi & amicis alijs consensum meum aperiam, simulque alijs ostendam, quomodo affectum in hac re vehementiorem effugerim. . . . Feci ingenuè quod potui, & inter tot conjicientes conjecturam meam addidi. Quæ si delinquit, quid mirum, cùm hodie tot fallantur & fallant? Christus te sibi ab omni errore servet, ac nos

In the last scene, the character “Fama” admitted that all had read into her what they had dreamed of and that she in fact was a *fabula*. However, when “Resipiscens” (he-who-is-recovering-his-senses) became convinced that the Rosicrucians did not exist, he gave up his search for them without giving up his idea of a Christian brotherhood, saying: “And so though I indeed give up the society of the fraternity itself, I will have never left the true Christian Brotherhood.” The fraternal ideal expressed in the manifestos was thus implicitly valorized. Andreae’s final gesture is to have “Resipiscens” make an avowal of faith that culminates with the words of the Rosicrucians themselves: “I will bear the *Cross* of the Christians, I will preserve the *Order* of Christianity, I will obey the disciplines of Christianity, I will live and die a Christian, and I say with them, Jesus will be all things to me.” The Rosicrucian tessera *IESVS MIHI OMNIA* was then inscribed on the final page as a colophon to the text.⁶³

In this same year Andreae also indicated his sympathy with the brotherhood in the preface to *Christianopolis*, in lines discussed above, “If these reforms seem proper, why do we not try them ourselves?” He then satirized the Rosicrucian *turba* as an example of *curiositas*, the unbridled inquisitiveness that leads to ruin, in *De curiositatis pernicio syntagma* (1620). Along with such curiosities of the pseudo-wise as alchemy, magic, and prophesying, Andreae included the brotherhood of the Rose Cross, though he still differentiated between the *paucos bonos* and the *reliqua turba*:

The *ludibrium* of the Rosicrucian fraternity, if I am not mistaken, has become the essence and the cause of the offense of the curiosities of our time. If you except the few good ones, for whom the corruption of so many things has given pain and the hope of improvement excited their souls, the remaining throng moved Democritus to laughter more than can be said. That fable included whatever could move the appetite for soothsayers, calculators, decoctors of potions, microcosmicians, the enraptured, cabalists, and more for all the curious in the universe, but most plainly it promised the sack of Aeolis.⁶⁴

in se & ad se jungat! Vale cum amicis nostris, ac iterum salve. à Tuo J. V. A.”

⁶³ *Turnis Babel*, p. 72. Fama says: “Ehem, Mortales! nihil est, quòd Fraternitatem expectetis: fabula peracta est” (p. 69); Resipiscens affirms however, “Itaque ut fraternitatis ipsam societatem quidem mitto, nunquam tamen veram Christianam fraternitatem quae sub Cruce Rosas olet, & à mundi inquinamentis, confusionibus, deliriis, vanitatibusque se quam longissimè segregat, dimiserò; sed ad eam cum quovis pio, cordato, & sagace ineundam aspiro” (p. 70).

⁶⁴ *De curiositatis pernicio syntagma* (Strasbourg, 1621), p. 35: “Huic accessit Fraternitatis

Finally we should consider the statement in his *Vita* that “I have always laughed at the fairy-tale of the Rosicrucians and opposed the curious brotherhood.”⁶⁵ While one reader takes this as a clue about his satiric intention,⁶⁶ it seems more likely that he had firmly separated in his mind the innocuous utopian manifestos from the public furor, which in retrospect he believed he had always been against. Clearly, he was attempting to distance himself from a controversy that quite possibly would hamper his life’s work.

Indeed Andreae felt compelled to defend himself for very nearly the rest of his life. His relationship with church authorities seems to have been an uneasy one (overcome finally by his fund-raising efforts on behalf of the exiled duke). In 1633 John Dury sought Andreae’s support for ecclesiastical peace, using as an intermediary Benjamin Buwinckhausen, privy councillor in Württemberg. Andreae zealously supported the project, Buwinckhausen reported, but could not support it outright (nor would he write Dury directly) without the approval of the Consistory due to his own insecurities.⁶⁷ Andreae was apparently too conscious of his weak position to take a bolder stand. Later, having been instructed to revive the ruined church in a war-devastated Württemberg (1638), he first took the step of professing his orthodoxy to earn the trust of others.⁶⁸ In 1641 when he was offered the title of doctor of theology, he accepted “to

cuiusdam Rosaceæ ludibrium, Curiosorum huius temporis nifallor viscus & offendiculum. Si paucos bonos excipias, quibus tot rerum corruptio doluit, emendationis spes animum fecit, reliqua turba supra quam dici potest Democrito risum civit. Continebat ea fabula quicquid salivam posset movere divinatoribus, calculatoribus, decoctoribus, microcosmicis, ecstatis, cabalistis, magis & in universum curiosis omnibus, atque planissimè Æoli utres pollicebatur.”

⁶⁵ *Vita*, p. 183 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 206]: “Rissime semper Rosae-Crucianam fabulam, et curiositatis fraterculos fuisse insectatum.”

⁶⁶ van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 93, paraphrases Andreae: “He who believes the *Fama* verbatim is a fool, a ‘curiosus’ – insofar as the *Fama* is purely a jest to mock the curious; but he who recognizes its symbolic references is a true Rosicrucian, a ‘Christianus.’ In this case the *Fama* is an amusement to instruct the worldly learned.” Similarly, when Andreae called the *Chymische Hochzeit* or *Fama a ludibrium* or *lusus*, van Dülmen believes he was indicating genre (which is akin to Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly*), and his real talents lay in the medium of the playful dream and in satire, both possibilities implicit in *ludibrium* (pp. 95-96).

⁶⁷ Letter, Benjamin Buwinckhausen to Dury, 24 Jun 1633, from Stuttgart, SUL H 69.8.1a-b. He did say that Andreae was envied more because of his virtue and merit than for any reason: “car il est . . . envié, et sujet a Jalousie, quoq que plustost a cause de sa Vertu, et merite, que par raison.”

⁶⁸ Included in his *Vita*, pp. 182-83 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 205-7].

prove with this testimonial my innocence and orthodoxy before all of Christendom.”⁶⁹ Perhaps we can better appreciate the lingering suspicions against him from a remark by Duke August in a letter of 26 July 1642, who said that in his opinion only the ignorant had reckoned the *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta* to be *Scripta Fratrum Rosae Crucis* because they were diametrically opposed to these.⁷⁰

Finally, we have the evidence of Andreae’s apologia, his autobiography, especially its fulsome dedicatory letter to Duke August. He proclaimed himself a Lutheran theologian before a Lutheran prince and asserted that he had been nourished – along with his mother’s milk – on the Protestant religion that had first been freed from the darkness by Luther, completed through the Augsburg Confession, and confirmed by his great teacher Hafenreffer. He acknowledged that he had been suspected of heresy and confessed that his unpardonable error was in not recognizing sooner the value of Arndt’s work, which led him from unfruitful belief to true praxis and active faith. His reward had been injustice, mockery and derision. Most importantly, he solemnly declared that he neither has, nor has had, nor will have anything to do with shady figures like the Papists, Calvinists, Schwenckfelders, Weigelians, Anabaptists, the pipe dreams of the Schwärmerei, in short “with the inanity and delusion of any deceiver.”⁷¹ The defiant, almost haughty tone of this last attempt to vindicate himself before his patron underscores the lifelong frustration this stigma had entailed. It is noteworthy too that as he gathered his letters for publication in *Seleniana Augustalia*, he did not mention his most intimate comrades from the early days, such as Besold or Hess (according to the index), as if he had expunged them from his memory.

Johann Valentin Andreae’s lifelong dream was to found a brotherhood of Christians dedicated to ameliorating society’s ills. Like

⁶⁹ *Vita*, p. 199 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 233]: “hoc testimonio innocentiam et orthodoxiam orbi christiano probare.”

⁷⁰ Quoted in Edighoffer, “Die Stadt Calw,” pp. 72–73.

⁷¹ Dedicatory letter in Kienast, pp. 240–41: “vel ullius impostoris inanitate et illusionē.”

many humanists in early modern Europe, he placed great faith in the potential of the regenerate in Christ to bring about change through the power of human reason and science. Evidence suggests that the two Rosicrucian manifestos emerged from Andreae's Tübingen circle as did the utopian brotherhood known as the *Civitas Solis*, dated uncertainly between 1614 and 1619. The composition of the *Confessio* in 1614, in which both Andreae and Hess, the *Utopiensis Princeps*, jointly took part – *Hesso imputata, plane mea* as Andreae said – provides the best evidence of his continuing involvement with Hess till his death. Only when the idea of such a learned society became associated in the public eye with vulgar alchemy and sectarian lunacy did Andreae begin to differentiate between his brotherhood and the “false” Rosicrucians through his satires. The difference between the 1617 and 1618 version of the dialogue about *fraternitas* in the *Menippus* reveals his attitudes in transition. The manifestos themselves, as we have seen, were completely innocuous. So Andreae simply continued his utopian projects with many of the same friends who had a hand in hatching the Rosicrucian fable, later giving more formal status to the *Civitas Solis* through his 1619 tract. The Rosicrucian “brotherhood” was plainly an earlier phase of his lifelong hopes for a Christian utopia that was appropriated by others and so abandoned.

As a result of the Thirty Years' War, he seems to have focused on more practical efforts at the local level. As he told Comenius in September 1628, he felt like an exhausted fighter who could no longer do battle. Even so his utopian writings – the three Rosicrucian documents he had a hand in constructing, the *Imago*, *Dextera porrecta*, and the *Christianopolis* – stirred others to take pen in hand.

CHAPTER FOUR

UTOPIAN & LEARNED SOCIETIES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

Pro collegio philosophico instit.: Was an einer Person hanget ist sterblich, was am ganzen Collegio ist dawerhaft.

Aphorism found among Jungius's papers

Unio divina est: Divisio Dæmone nata. Unus enim DEUS est: dæmones innumeri.

Andreae, *Veræ Unionis in Christo Jesu*

[I]ch habe in meinen *peregrinationibus* mit viel fürtrefflichen leuten freundschaft gemacht, und allerhandt *subsidia* zu besten einer solcher gesellschaft *votiert*.

Morsius to Jungius, 1643 letter

Somewhere along the Baltic coast in 1619, a brief tract was published under the pseudonym Eugenēs Philanthropos. In fifty-six octavo pages, the *Secta heroica beatrix reformatrix eademque Iesviti-perda* heralded another movement of true “Jesuits” who intended to fight the *Societas Jesu* by using its own tactics, primarily by gaining control over the education of youth. The author, identified in the British Library catalogue as Joannes Seyffert of Rostock, chose an inflammatory emblem for the title page: a burning castle or tower with the motto *Destruere Construere*, counterpointed by a verse from Revelation (21:1), *Vidi novum cælum & novam terram*. The title fly bore the inscription *Qui Rempublicam salvam esse vult me sequatur* (“Let he who wishes that the republic be safe follow me”). Their goal was to establish a *collegium* or *fraternitas*, both terms were used, of wise men who would reform corrupt *mores* and best the Jesuits.¹ This pseudon-

¹ *Secta heroica beatrix reformatrix eademque Iesviti-perda* (Bremen?, 1619), p. 10: “Pergo igitur animose hoc libello consilium, ac consilii rationes qualescunque aperire de instituendo bonorum virorum ac sapientum Collegio quorum Ingenio ac Virtute Mortalium genus universum quantum poterit maximâ & absolutissimâ felicitàte publicâ privatâque cumuletur: corruptissimi hominum mores reformatur: eâdemque operâ Iesuitarum Secta pestifera toti mundo portendens exitium de medio tollatur.”

ymous treatise was apparently the first effort to found a secret society in a region where many would follow. Judging from the rarity of the book today and the general anonymity of its author, we can assume that nothing came of his efforts.² The *Secta heroica*, though, represents cogently the spiritual and intellectual ferment of its time: the desire for educational or social reform as well as the fear of the secret influence of the Pope's invisible army, i.e., the same pressures that sustained the Rosicrucian furor.

Some have argued that despite his "utopian cry of belief in the new learning" Andreae had no influence in Germany because of the conditions created by the war and the anonymous publication of his work.³ An examination of the most significant of the German utopian brotherhoods that followed in the wake of Andreae's utopian writings and of the Rosicrucian fiasco will prove otherwise. The *Unio Christiana* was established in 1628 by a member of Andreae's earlier *Societas Christiana* who hoped to entice him to Nuremberg; thus, Andreae's writing clearly provided the impetus for this society. *Antilia*, the best known of all the German brotherhoods of the time (which flourished in the 1620s and then again in the 1650s), was modeled on Andreae's *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta*. It was founded at the other German epicenter of this movement, Rostock whose university contributed so much to the flowering of humanistic culture in northern Europe. The rector who reorganized the university after the Reformation, David Chytraeus (1531-1600), had been a pupil of Philipp Melancthon; as a result, Rostock was steeped in both Lutheranism and humanism. In this chapter, how-

² Albrecht Weyermann, *Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und andern merckwürdigen Personen aus Ulm* (Ulm, 1798), pp. 482-83, has the fullest account of this Johann Seyffert's life. Since he was said to have studied at the Latin school in Ulm under a rector whose tenure began in 1610, he would have been born c. 1600. Angered at not getting a job as cantor at the Gymnasium, he left his studies to become a soldier. After a brief army service, he entered various universities and ended in Amsterdam. He wrote a number of work, including a tract on the regicide of Charles I, and became embroiled in the Milton-Salmasius debate, and travelled throughout Germany before settling in Bremen. Another source, Johann Gottlob Wilhelm Dunkel, *Historisch-Kritische Nachrichten von verstorbenen Gelehrten*, 3 vols. (Cöthen and Dessau, 1753-1757), II, 709, states that he used the pseudonyms Eugenius Philanthropos and Philander Philanax. He also published under his own name. The only Johann Seyffert listed by Zedler (XXXVI, 1516) or Jöcher (IV, 485) was a jurist who died in Bremen c. 1694, but he seems to have had nothing to do with the society-movement.

³ Nell Eurich, *Science in Utopia: A Mighty Design* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967), p. 145.

ever, we will begin with the group often hailed as the first scientific society in Germany, because the *Societas Ereunetica*, which was modeled on the academies of Italy, illustrates so well the affinity of learned societies throughout early modern Europe for religious sectarianism, benevolent ideals, and secrecy. Furthermore its founders, whose mathematical method had wide currency throughout Europe, remained in contact with some of the later society-builders. Since the *Societas Ereunetica* too was established at Rostock, it provides a context for understanding the other secret societies that flourished there. Finally we shall look at the last effort to establish a utopian brotherhood in Germany solely based on Andreae's models. The case of Joachim Morsius offers an interesting counterpoint, in that he subscribed publicly to the Rosicrucian call (by publishing a response), then labored behind the scenes for an elite brotherhood using Andreae's writings. All told, the evidence will show that Andreae's utopianism had considerable influence, indeed, in the seventeenth century.

A. *Jungius & the Societas Ereunetica*

Joachim Jungius's *Societas Ereunetica*, the first learned society north of the Alps, bears closer examination in relation to broader cultural currents than it is usually accorded, since its history reveals much about the intellectual milieu of early modern Europe: the penchant for secrecy within learned societies, science's fledgling mathematical base, coupled with a fascination for alchemy. Though Jungius was somewhat reclusive later in his life, he and his lieutenant remained in contact with some of the society-builders who followed—notably Andreae, Hartlib and Comenius. He was justly celebrated for his contributions to scientific methodology. His mathematical method was later presented to the Royal Society and was known to many, including Boyle and Leibniz.

Born in 1587 in Lübeck and educated at the Gymnasium St. Katharinen under a learned headmaster, Jungius entered the University of Rostock in May 1606 where he studied mathematics and logic.⁴ From his youth his talents and genius were not only recog-

⁴ The following biographical details are taken from the brief memorial tribute offered by his former pupil, Martin Fogel, *Memoriae Joachimi Jungii mathematici summi*

nized, but at times even lionized. In the spring of 1608, he went to the newly founded University of Gießen and was awarded a master's degree on 22 December that same year. At Gießen he gained such academic distinction that, when the professor of mathematics died in 1609, Jungius was offered the chair at the tender age of twenty-two.⁵ In 1612 he entered the larger arena of German educational reform being undertaken by Wolfgang Ratke (1571-1635) at the behest of the princes and electors following the death of Rudolph II. Ratke had three aims: to propagate the study of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and other languages among both young and old; to conduct classes not only in German but in other languages; and to introduce peacefully one harmonious language, one harmonious reign, and one harmonious religion in Germany.⁶ Jungius was named in 1613 to a panel to evaluate the method, and he endorsed it enthusiastically, so much so that he gave up his professorship at Gießen to join Ratke in Augsburg to reform the Gymnasium there. One product of this collaboration was a set of aphorisms to characterize this new didactic, including the cardinal principle, *Per inductionem et experimentum omnia*, which shows how widespread the new empiricism had become.⁷ His interests in natural philosophy led him to Padua where he completed a doctorate in medicine in 1618; he also became interested in botanical studies, sparked in part by the gardens in Italy. When he returned to Germany to practice medicine, as his letters show, he avidly collected seeds for experiments.⁸

Back in Rostock (August 1619) Jungius deepened his commitment to this new methodological program by immersing himself in research in mathematics and natural science while practicing medi-

(Hamburg, 1657), though I will cite the 2nd. ed., *Historia vite et mortis Joachimi Jungii* (Strasbourg, 1658); and Gottschalk Eduard Guhrauer, *Joachim Jungius und sein Zeitalter* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1850). He matriculated in May 1606, *Rostock*, II, 285.

⁵ Guhrauer, p. 10; he matriculated on 30 May 1608, *Gießen*, p. 173.

⁶ Guhrauer, p. 25. He was also known as Radtich or Ratich. With some justice it can be said that the initiative begun by Ratke led to the founding of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in 1617 through the support of his patron, Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen.

⁷ Because of Ratke's domineering personality, though, they parted company after only a year. Jungius went back to Lübeck to work independently on a German dictionary, a German-Latin analogy, and a German didactic vocabulary among other projects (Guhrauer, pp. 41, 43).

⁸ See, e.g., the 10 May 1622 letter from Hermann Westhoff, reporting on the *semina* Jungius wanted, in Robert C. B. Avé-Lallemant, *Des Dr. Joachim Jungius aus Lübeck Briefwechsel mit seinen Schülern und Freunden: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniß des großen Jungius und der wissenschaftlichen wie socialen Zustände zur Zeit des dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Lübeck, 1863), p. 27.

cine. He also engaged publicly in anti-Aristotelian disputations at the university (he was not offered the chair in mathematics until February 1624). As part of his commitment to Baconian empiricism, Jungius founded in 1622 the first learned or philosophical society in northern Europe, which probably was inspired by the *Accademia dei Lincei* that he knew of from his student days in Italy. He called it the *Societas Ereunetica* or, alternately, the *Societas Zetetica*.⁹ These names suggested its scientific—or “philosophical” in the language of the seventeenth century—mission, from the Greek ἐρευνά, meaning inquiry or search; its other name was from ζήτημα, meaning a subject of inquiry or problem. Plato had used the metaphor ἐρευνᾶν for inquiry into the causes in the cosmos; Aristotle, however, had used ζήτησις for the investigation of mere reflection or meditation (skeptics were sometimes called ζήτητικοί).¹⁰

The society flourished only for a brief time, probably no later than 1625, when Jungius fled Rostock for safer climes. Unfortunately, only sketchy evidence about this association survives, because a fire on 25 May 1691 claimed the best part of his literary remains, including two-thirds of the estimated 75,000 manuscript pages of his scientific writings; some works only turned up in manuscript copies given to others.¹¹ Together with the ninety-seven letters to his friends that did survive the fire,¹² we have an announcement that may have served as their manifesto (published by Martin Fogel in his tribute to Jungius), and the *leges*. From this evidence, we can discern much about its mode, aims, and character.

No known letters of invitation from Jungius to prospective members of the *Societas Ereunetica* have survived; the extant letters of response indicate that Jungius must have used letters to propose membership. The Latin manifesto for the society that Fogel quoted

⁹ Guhrauer, p. 69.

¹⁰ Hans Kangro, *Joachim Jungius' Experimente und Gedanken zur Begründung der Chemie als Wissenschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1968), p. 249 n. 438.

¹¹ Kangro, *Joachim Jungius' Experimente*, pp. 349–93, provides a complete bibliography, including photographic reproductions of title pages.

¹² Avé-Lallemant uses the *Epistolae Jungii* for his *Briefwechsel*; many are described as sketches or drafts, and so they appear on the backs of the Latin exercises of his pupils; many have partial or faulty addresses and dates (pp. xv–xvi). For a complete list of these letters (now at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg), see Nilüfer Krüger, ed. *Supellex Epistolica Uffenbachii et Wolfiorum: Katalog der Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1978).

might be the boilerplate for such a letter.¹³ It seems more than likely that a personalized invitation would have accompanied such a formal declaration.

There are in Saxony men, all dedicated to morality and to studies, by whom a method has been discovered of refuting incontrovertibly even the most abstruse sophistries, and with the same certainty and evidence, whereby some proposition in Euclid is deduced. Also they have enriched the logical method which now obtains with such additions that it could appear completely new. Relying on these weapons, they promise that they will prove most clearly that the philosophy of the Jesuits, which has taken possession of nearly all Europe today, is nothing but sophistry and pure fraud, by which they, having crept into the incautious souls of men, seek most slyly the mastery themselves as a support to Papal superstition.

Furthermore, some new things in mathematics have been attempted, and others have already been completed; and above all, the chief ornament to their studies is HEURISTICS, by whose method lost problems are resolved, new matters are advanced, doubtful matters are confirmed; finally this noblest science [mathematics] will be so fully augmented that it will supply infinite means to human life.

Additionally, they declare that they will demonstrate at length the most expeditious method of investigating nature; they promise that any one who follows this method will reach the goal of the matter proposed with certainty and without error.

Moreover because in many kinds of observations the matter is extended as if by a kind of thread, which can not exist without instruments, assistance, or expenses; so it needs a certain support through the kindness of men of good fortune and lovers of truth.

Like much of the writing we have already looked at issuing from the Andreae circle, this manifesto is grounded in anti-Jesuit rhetoric. Likewise it promised to unlock the secrets of nature, using as its key the mathematical method Jungius had constructed and made available to others in Germany and in England.

The *Leges Societatis Ereuneticæ*, also published by Fogel, made clearer still the scientific basis of the *collegium* and afford a rather extraordinary view of the practice of science as it emerged in early modern Europe.¹⁴ A full text is available in Appendix A. Quite

¹³ Fogel, p. 12. He introduces this statement succinctly by saying: "Moreover on account of this matter, some very excellent men wanted to join together in a society, and now this page can show who ought at that time to be chosen as colleagues" [*Cuius autem rei gratia præstantissimi aliquot viri coire in societatem voluerint, & nunc monstrare potest Scheda, quæ olim collegas colligere debuit*].

¹⁴ Fogel, pp. 24-27. Guhrauer, pp. 71-74, gives a German translation of seventeen

clearly Jungius conceived of the society as a kind of academy where advanced students would be trained in the so-called protonoëtic method and would then work collaboratively on projects. Indeed he used the words *collegium* (and *collega* for “fellow”) instead of *societas* throughout (except for the title and the first law, a practice I have followed in my translation). A year’s residency was required; all would enjoy access to a common laboratory or at least to necessary equipment. Fellows were expected to report on the results of their experiments. The plan has all the earmarks of an institute of advanced study. As a professor and pedagogical reformer, he naturally saw the president as a headmaster who would direct the *tyrocinium* or apprenticeship of the fellows and superintend their efforts. His heuristic or protonoëtic method would provide the mathematical principles that would lead to scientific discovery. Jungius’s high regard for the method itself is evident in laws 9-11, where he tries to preserve its secrecy.

Most striking is the attempt made to safeguard the intellectual property of the fellows. In addition to laws guaranteeing freedom of inquiry and the right to benefit from unregistered ideas (2 & 15), twelve laws safeguard the results of scientific work, either regarding matters of confidentiality (3-6, 12-14), or the transfer of copyright (7-8), or the method itself (9-11). For those accustomed to conflicts over priority of discovery among scientists, the emphasis on confidentiality (his phrase is always *sub silentii fide*) seems forward-looking at a time when there were no copyright laws. From the perspective of his contemporaries, however, it would have been scarcely distinguishable from the secrecy traditionally used by adepts to shroud their wisdom from the vulgar. Even in Bacon’s *New Atlantis*, those admitted to Solomon’s House would likewise take an oath of secrecy, pledging to conceal their inventions and discoveries. As we shall see below, many other societies would cloak their activities behind a similar veil.

Though we know a great deal about his protonoëtic method from his surviving papers, unfortunately we do not have a complete version. After the 1630s when he was subjected to criticism by colleagues and clergy, Jungius became reluctant to publish. As a result, most of his work existed only in manuscript, much of which per-

ished in the 1691 fire. We know that he had elaborated a theory of mathematical operations (*zetetica*) with which he had worked out solutions to various problems on the laws of motion; that he taught his *Phoronomica* to the English mathematician Charles Cavendish in 1645 (fragments of which exist); that a specimen of the *Phoronomica* was sent to the Royal Society in 1669 (though only titles of chapters are given); that he devised a *Protoonoëticae philosophiae sciagraphia*, an outline of which was sent to Boyle in 1654; and that Jungius's method of *heuristics*, quite possibly an exact transcript, surfaced again in Leibniz's writings.¹⁵ His scientific writings are analytically and mathematically based, his life's work a demonstration of the aphorism coined with Ratke: *Per inductionem et experimentum omnia*. The *Biographie Universelle* article on Jungius alleged that he abandoned his plans for the society after he was accused of being the chief Rosicrucian; however, neither Fogel nor Guhrauer have substantiated this charge.¹⁶ Most likely, the society became defunct as a result of the upheaval brought about by the Thirty Years' War. Hoping to avoid the savagery of organized mercenary warfare, Jungius moved from Rostock to Helmstedt, back to Rostock, then finally to Hamburg in 1629 as rector of the Johanneum and of the Gymnasium. As a neutral city, Hamburg became a haven for refugees and hence gained increasing prominence.¹⁷ A *collegium* engaged in scientific inquiry, such as the *Societas Ereunetica*, could not hope to survive amid such chaos.

The tutelary spirit of this learned society was Jungius's life-long friend and collaborator, Johann Adolph Tassius (1585-1654).¹⁸ While

¹⁵ On Leibniz's use of Jungius, see Hans Kangro, "Heuretica (Erfindungskunst) und Begriffskalkül: ist der Inhalt der Leibnizhandschrift Phil. VII C 139r-145r Joachim Jungius zuzuschreiben?" *Sudhoffs Archiv: Vierteljahrsschrift für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 52 (1968):48-66. The previous technical discussion of Jungius's achievements is taken from Kangro's article on Jungius in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. See also his *Joachim Jungius' Experimente*, pp. 256-71, for an edition of the fragment, *Protoonoëtica Philosophiae Sciagraphia*. For a complete accounting of the surviving manuscripts, see *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß von Joachim Jungius in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, ed. Christoph Meinel (Stuttgart: Hauswedell, 1984).

¹⁶ *Biographie Universelle*, 45 vols. (Paris and Leipzig, 1845-1866), XXI, 330-31.

¹⁷ Jungius left Rostock to accept a professorship at Helmstedt in 1625. His respite was short-lived, for by the end of the year Tilly had overrun much of Lower Saxony; Jungius assumed his old chair at Rostock 29 September 1626 (Guhrauer, p. 85).

¹⁸ Born in Verden and educated in Lübeck at the same Gymnasium as Jungius, he matriculated at three universities: in August 1611, *Rostock*, III, 2; on 10 April 1618, *Heidelberg*, II, 288 (studying with Jan Gruther); and on 1 September 1618, *Tübingen*, II,

in Württemberg in 1619 he met Andreae, who remembered him as *literatissimus et politissimi ingenii et stili*.¹⁹ After his studies he travelled to France, the low countries, Italy and England, and was in residence in Rostock, Lüneburg, and Lübeck. He ended up in Wolfenbüttel in the circle of Ernst von Steinberg, whose authority in Helmstedt Tassius was able to utilize in securing a haven for Jungius (in 1625). When Jungius went to Hamburg, Tassius joined him as professor of mathematics in 1629, where they enjoyed twenty-five years of mutual collaboration. In his own right he authored several important mathematical works, as well as conducted business of mutual interest with Jungius.²⁰

From surviving letters we know that the idea was initially well received. One prominent member, Georg Bussius, responded warmly to the news of this "heroic and divine undertaking." He felt honored to be chosen one of the "acroamatic" fellows (*in numerum Collegarum acroamaticorum cooptare*).²¹ His choice of words may be a playful response to the emphasis on secrecy, or perhaps he was in earnest about protecting their esoteric wisdom.²² Bussius, in any case, wanted to join but could not meet the year's residency requirement. Of those thought to have been fellows of the *Societas Ereunetica*, many were from Lübeck and nearly all former students at Rostock. Johannes Klein (1604-1631), later professor of theology at Rostock, was the society's *registrator*. Other members included Hermann Westhoff (c. 1587-1655), Jungius's class-mate in school and roommate at Rostock and Padua, later a physician in Lübeck;

114.

¹⁹ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 81 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 88]. See Tassius's laudatory letter to Andreae, 26 September 1636, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2°, fol. 360-62, written after discovering that Andreae had survived the war.

²⁰ For details see, *ADB*, XXXVII, 411-13, and Avé-Lallement, pp. 30-31.

²¹ Letter to Jungius, 29 June 1622, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 97, 79; ed. Guhrauer, pp. 237-38. Bussius (1585-1645), personal physician to the duke of Holstein-Gottorf and a chemist known for his *panacea Holsatica* and *spiritum bezoardicum*, mentioned specifically that he had just that day received news of the society and his letter of invitation from Johannes Klein, the *registrator*.

²² The word, derived from the Greek ἀκροάμα, or anything heard, was used in Latin for that which is heard with pleasure, such as an entertainment or lecture; its adjectival form was used to refer to anything communicated orally to chosen disciples, hence secret or esoteric. The example chosen for the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* refers to Aristotle's lectures on the esoteric parts of his philosophy. While the OED lists similar contemporary usages in English (citing Bacon), the Grimms do not in their *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

Jacob Engelbrecht (b. 1591), mathematician, physician and philologist; Sebastian Meier (1594-1664), philologist and rector in Lübeck; Leonhard Elver, a patrician from Lübeck, later councillor (1610-1640) and senator (1640-1649); Simon Paulli (1603-1680), physician and professor of anatomy and botany at Rostock and Copenhagen, known for his *Quadripartitum botanicum* (published first in 1630 and in five other seventeenth-century editions); and the lone fellow without a Lübeck connection, Jodocus Stalius, court physician in Wolfenbüttel.²³

The manner in which the society solicited members can be discerned from Elver's 15 April 1623 response to the society. He mentioned specifically that he had received Jungius's initial letter of invitation and that he would do whatever he could to support such a useful undertaking; to that end, he sent a gift of a hundred Thalers through Tassius. Since Elver was not a learned man – in fact was later charged with trafficking in magical and fantastical books and having associated with *Enthusiasten* – Jungius apparently sought him for financial support.²⁴

Of the activities of the group even less is known. We have evidence from surviving letters from Engelbrecht to Jungius in early 1623 that these two were collaborating on some mathematical proofs.²⁵ Like Jungius, Engelbrecht was equally interested in pedagogy and later developed a method of teaching languages, which he promised to share with John Dury.²⁶ Jungius was also interested

²³ See Guhrauer, pp. 74-75. According to *Rostock*, Bussius, who had previously studied at Altdorf, matriculated in December 1608 (II, 295); Klein in November 1621 (III, 45); Westhoff in May 1605 (II, 282); Engelbrecht in October 1619 (III, 35); Meier in June 1609 (II, 297); Elver in August 1611 (III, 2); and Paulli, in May 1617 (III, 26), who was also professor of medicine at Rostock (1639-1648). Only Stalius of Wolfenbüttel was not an alumnus. In addition to those letters mentioned above, the other relevant surviving ones to Jungius are: from Meier in Güstrow (10 April 1622, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, 10; 13 April 1622, *Sup. ep.* 98, 11), from Paulli in Leiden (17 January 1624, *Sup. ep.* 98, 32; 3 May 1624, *Sup. ep.* 98, 33), and from Stalius in Wolfenbüttel (18 November 1624, *Sup. ep.* 98, 144).

²⁴ Letter to Jungius, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 97, 130; German trans. Avé-Lallemant, pp. 31-32.

²⁵ Two letters from Engelbrecht to Jungius, 21 February 1623, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 97, 132, and 1 June 1623, *Sup. ep.* 97, 131.

²⁶ Letter, Dury to Hartlib, 2 November 1638, from Hamburg, SUL H, 2.6.5a: "I have spoken with this M^r Engelbrech hee hath promised to lette me see all the particulars of his method." Engelbrecht later matriculated on 9 December 1639, *Leiden*, I, 310; and 17 June 1640 *Helmstedt*, p. 18. Among other works he wrote *Donatum seu progymnasmata* and *Lexicon radicum linguae latinae methodicum*. See Jöcher, II, 348.

in experimental chemistry, as is evident from the inventory of scientific instruments he ordered through his long-time friend Westhoff, who wrote on 10 May 1622 from Lübeck that the cargo would arrive by ship, bearing a special marking (an arrow of sorts): rectifying oven with a covering, iron oven with grates, iron covering, vesica (a copper vessel shaped like an egg), and refrigeratorium.²⁷ This equipment, so typical of the alchemical laboratory, reminds us, as does Westhoff's repeated request for nativities to gauge their chances for success, that astrology and alchemy were still widely practiced.²⁸ His interest in alchemy was apparently long-lived, for in 1654 Hartlib heard that two *adepti* had appealed to Jungius to mediate a dispute by evaluating the results of their experiments.²⁹ While this only suggests that others credited his expertise, it would seem to indicate a continuing curiosity.

When Jungius withdrew from public scrutiny after he was subjected to criticism by colleagues and clergy in the 1630s, Tassius assumed the task of maintaining contact with the scholarly world in regard to such societies. We have only two letters between Tassius to Andreae, though others are implied. Tassius wrote on 26 September 1636 and again in March 1637 after receiving Andreae's reply.³⁰ Fearing the worst after seventeen years of silence and knowing that Württemberg had been overrun, Tassius was overjoyed to learn that Andreae was still alive. He pressed him urgently for news about the status of his affairs and the fortune of his projects (*sed etiam quis rerum tuarum status, quae fortuna esset, explorato scire,*

²⁷ Letter to Jungius, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, 262 d; ed. Avé-Lallemant, p. 27: "Bei Schipfer N. Bilefelt ein Rostocker vbersende ich euch Erstlich Einen *Rectificirofen* mit einer eingesetzten Capel fein fertig und schön, ist in einem Sack mit stro verwahrt eingemachet, 2^{do} den Eisenofen neben seiner Rosten, 3^o die Eisen Capelle, 4^{to} die *Vesicam*, 5^o das *refrigeratorium*. Diese 5 stücke habt ihr von bemeldeten schiffer abzufordern vnd sein alle mit diesem marke [the arrow] gezeichnet."

²⁸ To Jungius, 10 May 1622, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, 262: "Die bewusten *Nativiteten* erwarte ich bei erster Gelegenheit, der *Artifex* sols nicht umbsonst gethan haben, sol zum wenigsten etwas ergetzung dafür bekommen." On 4 June 1622, *Sup. ep.* 98, 263, he asked again for "die *Nativiteten*, so eur *Artifex* verfertiget" (ed. Avé-Lallemant, pp. 27, 29).

²⁹ In his *Ephemerides* (1654), SUL H 29.4.14b, Hartlib recorded that J. F. Schletzer had reported that two German "secret Adepti" from Hamburg had undertaken "to discover the true Matter of the Philosoph. Worke and to commit it to the Examination of D^r Jungii."

³⁰ Tassius to Andreae, 26 September 1636, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o, fol. 360; and March 1637, fol. 362.

avidissime desideravi). The wording may very well refer obliquely to the *Societas Christiana*. Since he met Andreae and became familiar with his work in 1619, when Andreae was at work on the *Imago* and *Christianopolis*, Tassius might have known of Andreae's society-building efforts for he maintained contact with Dury and Hartlib about similar activities.³¹

Though the *Societas Ereunetica* flourished only briefly, Jungius continued to influence the world of learning. His reputation spread across Europe through his students and through the spread of his manuscripts. Dury met with the Jungius and Tassius in November 1638; among other matters, Tassius asked Dury's advice about bequeathing his library to Gresham College.³² In 1642 Comenius's return trip from England through Sweden took him to Hamburg where he met with Jungius, with whom he later corresponded.³³ Jungius also corresponded with John Pell, Cavendish, and Hartlib, who was especially interested in his mathematical method. Hartlib later wrote Boyle about him:

[Jungius is] one of the best logicians in all *Germany*. For he conceives if that art were truly understood and applied, not only botanical, but all other real studies whatsoever, would flourish more than they have done since the fall of *Adam*. *Leges Collegii Proto-noetici* came from the same forementioned author: but they will scarcely be understood without the general draught of his philosophical undertakings, which I shall impart unto you hereafter, God willing.³⁴

Soon thereafter he sent Boyle a manuscript copy of Jungius's *Proto-noetical Philosophy*. Following Jungius's death Hartlib sent a copy of Fogel's tribute, which outlines the history of the *Societas Ereunetica*, commending it to Seth Ward, John Wallis and Boyle's "whole philosophical club."³⁵ Thus despite his withdrawal from public scrutiny, Jungius's ideas had currency in the republic of letters. (And his name is still connected with learned societies through

³¹ Letter, Hartlib to Tassius, 10 August 1638, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 100, 60; ed. Kvačala, I, 108-111.

³² Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 196.

³³ Two letters from Comenius to Jungius, 21 September 1642, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 97, 97, and 15 June 1643, *Sup. ep.* 97, 98; ed. Guhrauer, pp. 264-65.

³⁴ Letter, Hartlib to Boyle, from London, 8 May 1654, in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. Thomas Birch, 6 vols. (London, 1772), VI, 85-86.

³⁵ Letter, Hartlib to Boyle, 15 May 1654, *Works*, VI, 91; letter, 2 February 1658, VI, 101.

the Joachim-Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, founded in Hamburg in 1947 to promote scientific research.)

Though the *Societas Ereunetica* was not organized to advance utopian ideals specifically, its primary aim – “to investigate truth according to method and experiment” (Law 1) – matched well the benevolent aims of the Rosicrucian brotherhood. Jungius and Tassius believed that the new science would “supply infinite means to human life”; Andreae, we should recall, was likewise committed to the new empiricism. This first learned society in Germany, furthermore, illustrates how commonplace religious sectarianism and secrecy were among learned societies in early modern Europe. Finally, the fact that later society-builders held Jungius and Tassius in high regard attests to the significance of their pioneering efforts. All told, the *Societas Ereunetica* offers us a valuable perspective for the practices of later associations.

B. Saubert, Andreae & the Unio Christiana

The first utopian brotherhood (outside Tübingen) that can be traced directly to Andreae’s influence is the *Unio Christiana* at Nuremberg; in fact, in the brief discussions of it, he is usually considered the founder. The scheme was thought to have been formulated during a 1628 trip to Nuremberg to visit Johannes Saubert (1592–1646), whom Andreae had met at Tübingen where Saubert had studied (1612–1614) and who was numbered among the members of the *Societas Christiana*. Together with a few patricians and churchmen, they founded this *Unio Christiana*, for which Andreae wrote the *Vere unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen*.³⁶ Like the *Imago* before it, the *Specimen* made clear that their planned society would not replace the church but would be rather an elite within it. A closer inspection of the account in Andreae’s autobiography, however, will show that Saubert actually provided the motive force for this renewed attempt at forming a Christian society. A manuscript copy of the *Specimen*

³⁶ This tract was first published in 1628 *sine loco* but is thought to have come from Nuremberg. A second edition was published by Heinrich Wilhelm Clemm, *Amoenitates academicae*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1754), II, 120–42. Brief accounts of the founding are given by Will-Erich Peuckert, *Das Rosenkreutz*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Schmidt, 1973), pp. 178–80, and van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, pp. 155–58.

now at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek demonstrates that Andreae's manifesto had a vitality of its own and that the society had an independent existence in Württemberg some time after the deaths of Saubert and Andreae.

Nuremberg was an especially fruitful ground for a project like the *Unio Christiana*.³⁷ As an imperial city and a prominent commercial center, it had grown wealthy during the latter Middle Ages and prospered in the Renaissance as a center for printing and the arts. It was home to Veit Stoß, Adam Kraft, Peter Vischer, Martin Behaim, Hans Sachs, and of course Albrecht Dürer. The city could boast one of the oldest libraries in Germany (founded in 1429). The academy in nearby Altdorf was made a university in 1623 (though without the right to confer theology degrees). During the Thirty Years' War, Nuremberg tried to remain neutral, hoping to avoid the siege it had suffered in 1552. Religion in Nuremberg was greatly influenced by the classical humanism of Melancthon, who had founded the Gymnasium St. Egidien in 1525 along humanist lines. The city council had adopted its own compromise between staunch Lutheranism and the more liberal Philippism, through the so-called Nuremberger *Norma doctrinae* of 1573, four years before the Formula of Concord. The opportunity offered to utopianists in Nuremberg in the early seventeenth century should have been ideal. Other societies succeeded there. Most well known is the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden*, founded in 1644 (and still active) as a literary society known for its distinctive pastoral style.³⁸ So too may a secret brotherhood dedicated to alchemical experimentation have existed in the 1660s. Leibniz's first biographer, Johannes Georg von Eckhart, reported that such a learned group had introduced the twenty-one year old Leibniz to chemistry when he came to Altdorf to take his doctorate in 1666. Since Leibniz himself later spoke of this in his letters, his biographers still credit this society's existence (though other original source materials are lacking).³⁹

³⁷ See Richard van Dülmen, "Sozietätsbildungen in Nürnberg im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Gesellschaft und Herrschaft: Forschungen zu sozial- und landesgeschichtlichen Problemen vornehmlich in Bayern*, ed. van Dülmen (Munich: Beck, 1969).

³⁸ See Newman, *Pastoral Conventions*, *passim*. A musical "school" also flourished; see Mara R. Wade, "Music in the Works of the Early Pegnitzschäfer," *Daphnis* 17 (1988):633-46.

³⁹ In a 1691 letter to his brother, Leibniz wrote: "Mich hat Nürnberg zuerst in chemische Studien eingeweiht und es reut mich nicht, in der Jugend gelernt zu haben,

Saubert, like Andreae, was not an original thinker but became a key figure in Nuremberg by devoting himself to enhancing its spiritual life. As van Dülmen has pointed out, "His ideal of a Christian society is stamped by utopian ideas and thoughts of church discipline and is directed entirely according to the precept of practical Christianity."⁴⁰ Born in Nuremberg, he studied Greek and Latin at Altdorf; in 1612 he began theological studies at Tübingen and became part of the Besold circle.⁴¹ He returned to his native city in 1617 and assumed the first in a series of church appointments that would culminate in the pastorates of the largest churches, St. Lorenz (1628) and St. Sebaldus (1637). When he was appointed prefect of the city library (1637), he reformed the library, compiled the first catalogue of incunables (ten years before Philipp Labbé's catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), and produced a series of editions of the letters of Melanchthon that enhanced Nuremberg's stature (published in 1646, dedicated to Duke August).⁴² Many exegetical works, volumes of sacred emblems, and other educational works flowed from his pen, some fifty in all. However, most of his correspondence and his intellectual activities were centered around the Lutheran church, particularly in Nuremberg.⁴³

was mir als Mann zur Vorsicht reichen sollte"; cited in G. E. Guhrauer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz. Eine Biographie*, 2 vols. (Breslau, 1846), I, 47. See also E. J. Aiton, *Leibniz. A Biography* (Bristol and Boston: Adam Hilger, 1985), p. 23. Leibniz was staying with his uncle, Justus Jacob Leibnitz, who was apparently a principal in this society—as he had been a member of the *Unio Christiana* in his youth.

⁴⁰ Richard van Dülmen, "Orthodoxie und Kirchenreform: Der Nürnberger Prediger Johannes Saubert (1592-1646)," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 33 (1970):735: "Sein Ideal einer christlichen Gesellschaft ist von utopischen Vorstellungen und Kirchenzuchtsgedanken geprägt und ganz nach dem Gebot des praktischen Christentums ausgerichtet."

⁴¹ He matriculated on 2 September 1603 and was baccalaureus in 1606 and in 1611, magister and poet laureate, *Altdorf*, I, 85. He began his theological studies 10 March 1612, *Tübingen*, II, 71; and continued his studies at Gießen and Jena. Biographical details are taken from Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon, oder Beschreibung aller Nürnbergischen Gelehrten beyderley Geschlechtes nach Ihrem Leben, Verdiensten und Schriften*, 4 vols. (Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1755-1758), III, 454-65; Gustav G. Zeltner, *Vitae Theologorum Altorphinorum* (Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1722), pp. 165-99; and van Dülmen, "Johannes Saubert," pp. 639-61.

⁴² van Dülmen, "Johannes Saubert," p. 660.

⁴³ His closest friends were Christoph Schleupner of Eisleben, Johann Matthäus Meyfart of Coburg-Erfurt, Johannes Schmidt of Strasbourg, and Andreae—all of whom were committed to reform the spiritual and moral life of the people and to renew the church through a reformation of practical belief (van Dülmen, "Johannes Saubert," pp. 733-34).

Some important details, not hitherto noted, of the founding of this society, namely, that it occurred in conjunction with an attempt to hire Andreae, can be gleaned from Andreae's *Vita*.⁴⁴ In fact he made his first trip to Nuremberg in June 1624 for a family wedding, at which time he became reacquainted with Saubert and met his deacon Christoph Leibnitz, Paul Piggel, pastor at St. Lorenz, and Johann Schnerrer, all of whom Andreae thought conspicuous for their nobility and virtue. These kindred spirits quickly established bonds of friendship (though both Piggel and Schnerrer died shortly thereafter).⁴⁵ As a result of Saubert's "excellence of character and pleasantness of morals," Andreae now counted him a part of his inner circle at work on the betterment of the Lutheran church.⁴⁶

Once contact had been re-established between them, Saubert thought to entice Andreae to accept the pastorate at St. Lorenz, following Piggel's death on 2 February 1628.⁴⁷ In April 1628 Andreae travelled to Nuremberg for a second time. Saubert presented him to three patricians of the city – each of whom later backed their scheme – and persuaded the senate to bestow a gift upon him, no doubt a painting. (In his negotiations with the city of Nuremberg for vacancies at St. Lorenz and St. Sebaldus, Andreae received a Dürer Madonna and Holbein's "Conversion of St. Paul."⁴⁸) He made an excursion to Altdorf with Saubert and

⁴⁴ Since the earliest correspondence between Andreae and Saubert perished in the Calw fire of 1634, we must rely on Andreae's autobiography for particulars. Nine letters from Andreae to Saubert are part of the Uffenbach Collection in Hamburg, all of which date from 1643-1644; Krüger catalogues one (*Sup. ep.* 36, 185) as 17 October 1633, though it was written on 15 March 1643. A large number of Saubert's letters to Andreae (126 from 1633-1646) are at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Guelf.* 8.7. *Aug.* fols. 98-291.

⁴⁵ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 104 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 106-7]. For a general summary of Andreae's activities in Nuremberg, see Paul Schattenmann, "D. Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1634) und seine Beziehungen zu Bayern," in *Festgabe aus Anlaß des 75. Geburtstages von D. Dr. Karl Schornbaum*, Heinrich Gürsching, ed. (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Schmidt, 1950), pp. 101-10.

⁴⁶ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 237 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 291]. The index to the letters exchanged with Duke August, published as *Seleniana Augustalia* (1649), lists more references to Saubert than any other friend. See especially his fulsome 25 November 1646 letter just after his death (pp. 187-89). Andreae also wrote a funeral oration for Saubert, *Umbra* (Lüneburg, 1646).

⁴⁷ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 104 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 107], gives us the exact date of Piggel's death; the date of his trip (p. 109 [p. 114]); and discussed the two opportunities (p. 170 [p. 186]).

⁴⁸ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 114 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 121], termed the city *Minervae quasi sedes*.

Conrad Baier, where the rector and senate of the university fêted him. Saubert also arranged a visit to Daniel Schwenter, professor of both mathematics and oriental languages at Altdorf and scholar of the Cabala. Since Schwenter had been listed as a member of the *Societas Christiana*, quite likely Saubert hoped to solicit his further support.⁴⁹ The journey to Altdorf led to plans for a new society whose ideals would be set forth in Andreae's tract, *Veræ unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen*, which was dedicated to Baier. On the return trip they were accompanied by Laurentius Laelius, also a member of Andreae's previous society.⁵⁰ Though Andreae, in characteristic fashion, did not record his sentiments, such a journey must have seemed a triumph and Nuremberg a haven offering new hopes after so much insecurity in Württemberg and his personal scandals. Such an impetus towards a new Christian brotherhood could not have been achieved without careful planning, the credit for which must surely be accorded to Saubert, who hoped to win this luminary for Nuremberg as an ally.

Andreae declined the opportunity at St. Lorenz, yet drafted the *Specimen*, which circulated in manuscript (endorsed by five subscribers) and then was published. In his prefatory remarks Andreae acknowledged that those who would correct the problems of the age were bound together by a devotion to what is right and true, but that they set out on their difficult path without the necessary ardor or prudence. As a result, when they were beset with obstacles, they despaired and failed. The remedy was to bond together into a true union, which he defined as:

a rather sacred assembly of Christian concord for the sincere profession and the earnest cultivation of the one religion, constituted with mutual faith and service and without trouble to any legitimate order, and opposed to the stratagems of Satan.⁵¹

The bulk of the *Specimen* was an exposition of this definition in eleven parts, sermon-style. He offered no specific agenda or *modus operandi*. He drew on the *Dextera porrecta* and Arndt's emphasis on

⁴⁹ For details, see Will, III, 655.

⁵⁰ Andreae, *Vita*, pp. 109-10 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 113-15].

⁵¹ *Specimen* (Nuremberg?, 1628), Sig. A 2^v: "*Unionem veram intelligo consensus Christiani, pro unius Religionis sincera professione, & serio cultu, sanctius consilium; mutua fide & opera, nullius legitimi Ordinis incommodo, constituendum, & machinis Satanae opponendum.*" I quote from the copy in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek [Signatur Theol. 8° 408].

developing an inner Christian life outside of official structures. This society was a support group through which the brothers could encourage and comfort one another during their struggles with the world. While Andreae was all too aware of the precariousness of the times, he hoped that this society would endure:

what can survive that is more sacred to us, who ourselves some day may be driven and exiled by all, than this union, which was begun not by earthly desire or hope of money, but was signed by the mark of the Christian cross, and sealed by the blood of Christ, and adorned by the scourges of the martyrs.⁵²

This *Unio Christiana*, thus, was linked with the symbol of the bloody cross, a central Christian symbol that nonetheless had particular appeal for Andreae, as we have seen.

This new society, as with Andreae's earlier *Societas Christiana*, was designed along confessional lines. In the section titled *pro Unius Religionis*, he distinguished *unam hanc Religionem Lutheram* from all others—Calvinists, Anabaptists, Schwenckfeldians, Weigelians, and the deceits of the Rosicrucians and pseudo-chemists, and the dreams and visions of the enthusiastical little brothers.⁵³ (While Andreae still discriminated between genuine chemists and puffers or confidence men, he no longer cared to defend the ideals of the brotherhood of the Rose Cross as he had in *Christianopolis* or *Menippus*, lumping the Rosicrucian enthusiasts together with other clandestine sectaries.) Having outlined his aspirations for an elite body for reform and fellowship, Andreae pledged his own efforts to that end.

I pray to Christ for more companions, fellow-soldiers, and colleagues to implement my hopes and plans; but if the earth may deny this, then a few; if not even these few, then three or two; or let even one meet with me and join in an eternal bond.⁵⁴

Though he was writing with a certain friend in mind (Baier was named in a marginal note, Sig. A 3^v), he called upon other good

⁵² *Specimen*, Sig. B 2^r: “quid nobis ipsis aliquando ab omni reegenis, & exilibus supererit, quam *Sanctior illa Unio*, quæ non subterrena voluptate, & lucri spe inita, sed crucis *Christiane* charactere insignita, et cruore Christi obsignata, flagellisque Martyrum condecorata est.”

⁵³ *Specimen*, Sig. A 5^r: “Rosacruciorum, & Pseudochymicorum imposturis; & fanaticorum fraterculorum somniis, & visionibus.”

⁵⁴ *Specimen*, Sig. B 2^v: “Christumque adoro, ut hujus mei voti atque studii plures socios, commilitones, & collegas: sin id terra neget paucos; si ne hoc quidem, tres duosve, tandem *ah unicum saltem* mihi conciliet, atque æterno fœdere jungat.”

men to aid this cause. Saubert, Christoph Leibnitz, Baier, J. J. Leibnitz, and Andreae officially endorsed the ideals of the *Unio Christiana* as signatories to the original manuscript.⁵⁵ This society also seems to have been supported in some way by a group of noblemen, as Andreae later indicated.

Saubert was the chief advocate of the *Unio Christiana*, for Andreae was too weary to pursue such efforts, as he had confided to Comenius.⁵⁶ The most active members were churchmen, but Saubert had arranged for Andreae to meet three prominent Nuremberg aristocrats when he arrived for the second visit. Saubert's choice of Jobst Christoph Kreß von Kressenstein was certainly the most savvy. Kreß (1597-1663) was perhaps the most eminent Nuremberger of his time. After studying at Altdorf, and then at Jena, Leiden and Oxford, he had an active diplomatic career, and on his monument in Kraftshof, he is named the Themistocles of Nuremberg.⁵⁷ Through his largesse, the university library was expanded and an anatomical theater, garden, and observatory were erected. He was also the patron of Martin Limburger (1637-1692), pastor at Kraftshof and a poet in the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden*, whose funeral oration for him was published as the *Kressischer Ehrentempel*. Though Limburger mentioned nothing of Kreß's efforts for the *Unio Christiana* (nor Kreß's support for the *Blumenorden*) in this seventy-page eulogy, he did provide some insight into the inner sympathies that formed between these men: for he was devoted to the work of Arndt, from whom, like a busy bee, he gathered spiritual honey.⁵⁸ As a patrician Kreß might have been

⁵⁵ In 1819 Wilhelm Hossbach, *Johann Valentin Andreae und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1819), p. 179 n., working from a manuscript I have not been able to find, ascribed the original to Christoph Leibnitz.

⁵⁶ Andreae to Comenius, 15 September 1629 letter; ed. Kvačala, I, 11-12.

⁵⁷ He matriculated 6 June 1610, *Altdorf*, I, 110, and was fluent in German, Latin, French, and Italian. For details of his life, see Will, II, 362-64; and Karl Friedrich von Frank, *Die Kressen: Eine Familiengeschichte* (Vienna: Gistel & Cie, 1936), pp. 502-49. As an envoy of Friedrich V in 1619, he solicited aid from the kings of England and Denmark; when the Swedish army was billeted at Nuremberg during the summer of 1632, he negotiated with Gustavus Adolphus (who was impressed enough to offer him a number of honors, though Kreß refused them all); as privy councillor he was a signatory to the Peace of Westphalia.

⁵⁸ Martin Limburger, *Kressischer Ehrentempel* (Nuremberg, 1663), p. 27: "so war Er in seiner Muß unmüßig in den Himmels=Schriften des Geistreichen und theuren Manns **D. Arnds**, aus welchen Er, einem ämsigen Bienlein gleich, als aus der herrlichsten Blüte, der Seelen Krafft=hönig sammlete und besonders eintruge."

expected to use his influence to further the aims of the society; given his political missions, his active period would be 1626-1631, when he was an almoner for the city. The two other patricians were Wolfgang Jacob Pömer (1590-1655), also educated at Altdorf, who served Nuremberg in a number of civic offices,⁵⁹ and Baier (1593-1647), whose personal bond with Andreae was evidently quite strong. Andreae called him an “incomparable friend,” dedicated the society’s *Specimen* to him, and asked him to stand as godfather to one of his sons.⁶⁰

The other charter members were churchmen, chief among them Saubert’s close friend, Christoph Leibnitz (1579-1632), who had made such an impression on Andreae during his first visit that Andreae praised his zeal and blessedness in a letter to Duke August.⁶¹ As deacon at St. Sebaldus, he staunchly supported Saubert’s efforts to abolish the Nuremberger *Norma doctrinae*. His son Justus Jacob Leibnitz (1610-1683) was a student at Altdorf at the inception of the society and later a minister in Nuremberg.⁶²

Among members of the original group, correspondence would have been unnecessary since they all lived in Nuremberg. In the extant letters between Andreae and members, scarcely any mention is made.⁶³ For example, in a letter to Andreae (24 October 1645),

Though the Kreß family has preserved its records (now at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum) – the earliest catalogue, with 2000 pages in folio, dates from 1760 – unfortunately, only four letters from Jobst Christoph Kreß survive (Rep.II/76a XXXV, Fasc. A.1-4), all relatively late (1647-1654). No mention of the society is made.

⁵⁹ According to *Altdorf*, II, 435, Pömer was publicus in 1606 and an orator in the first class, but apparently never formally matriculated. He served as assessor, juror, judge for matrimonial causes, and finally councillor. See Johann Gottfried Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg* (Bayreuth, 1748), Tab. DLXXVIII, Sig. Dddd 1^r.

⁶⁰ Baier matriculated on 14 July 1600, *Altdorf*, I, 73, and later was city councillor. Andreae, *Vita*, p. 109 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 114], stated that Baier was godfather to Johann Valentin Jr., born 1631.

⁶¹ Leibnitz matriculated on 22 October 1601, and promoted to magister in 1604, *Altdorf*, I, 78. For biographical details, see Will, II, 416-17. See Andreae, *Seleniana Augustalia* (Ulms, 1649), p. 332 (16 July 1647): “Fuit Christoph[o]rus Leibnizius, alter in repurgando Augie stabulo patrio Hercules, durissimis obstaculis exercitus, sed fine gloriosus.”

⁶² He matriculated 29 July 1620, and was baccalaureus in 1629 and magister in 1630, *Altdorf*, I, 161. He then went to Jena in 1630 to study theology under Johann Michael Dillherr and Johan Gerhard. Later he was deacon in Nuremberg at St. Jakob’s and also a librarian (Will, II, 419-20).

⁶³ The Stadtarchiv in Nuremberg possesses two letters from Andreae to Christoph Leibnitz, one dated 6 October 1631 (E1.27.1/2) and the other undated (E1.27.1/4), but obviously before 1632 when Leibnitz died. The Trew Nachlaß in Erlangen has a 27

we have only J. J. Leibnitz's modest assertion that he was undeserving of membership in the society: "I am indeed unworthy to be welcome into the most pleasant arms of your Christian union and concord."⁶⁴ In the absence of the early letters from Saubert to Andreae that went up in flames, the most definitive statement on the society remains Andreae's. As part of his final efforts to establish an association with the support of Duke August, Andreae sent copies on 27 June 1642 of his utopian tracts, the *Imago*, *Dextera porrecta*, and *Specimen*, and a report on his previous attempts to found a Christian brotherhood. About the 1628 effort he wrote:

Eight years later, when I was visiting friends in Nuremberg, I drew together the Unio Christiana for a quaternity of friends; with Saubert pressing as much as possible, who hitherto had great faith in it, they promoted it, with Conrad Baier, a Nuremberg patrician, and Christoph Leibnitz, a theologian of singular zeal and integrity, now received in heaven. This union never saw the light and from then as a trio remained shut up for a decade, until it dared again to step before your illustrious view and to give humble thanks [i.e., as a gift] for the kindness of your generosity to me. Now I understand that this union convenes to the extent that we are in the body of Christ, so that nothing more united or constant can be said to exist. . . . I have added however to this union the *Imago* of a formerly constituted society for your excellent wisdom and piety, about which you can reflect upon fully, and the kind of Christian matter you can establish after the public tumult has been calmed.⁶⁵

The fourth member of the *quaternarium* was likely Krefß or W. J. Pömer. Clearly, the initial impulse from Nuremberg in 1628 created a certain momentum, but after the first decade both Andreae and Saubert were consumed with other tasks: in the early 1630s

September 1626 letter from Leibnitz to Jacob Bruno (1594-1654, later professor of morals and Greek at Altdorf). None mentioned the society, nor did a 4 February 1652 letter from Andreae to Conrad Baier (Stadtarchiv Nuremberg E1.27.1/1).

⁶⁴ *Cod. Guelf.* 8.7. Aug. f. 486: "Hanc vero suavissimis Christianae vestrae Unionis ac Concordiae ulnis et ego indignus excipiar"; cited in Kvačala, *Andrea's Antheil*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ *Cod. Guelf.* 65.1 *Extrav.*; ed. Kvačala I, 183: "Octennio post, cum Noribergae amicos reviderem, Unionem Christianam, ad quaternarium sociorum contraxi; Sauberto quam maxime insistente, qui magna fide hactenus eam, cum Conrado Baiero, Patricio Norico, colunt, Christophoro Leibnitio, Theologo singularis Zeli, et innocentiae, in coelum recepto. Haec nunquam lucem vidit, et [ternario] iam per decennium conclusa stetit; audet tamen in serenissimum Tuum conspectum iam prodire, et pro munificentiae Tuae in me clementia, humillimas gratias agere. . . . Sociam autem addidi Societatis quondam affectae imaginem, de qua pro tua excellenti sapientia, et pietate, cogitare amplius possis; et quid rei Christianae, post sedatos publicos tumultus, expediat, statuere."

Württemberg was despoiled by war and Andreae was faced with the monumental tasks of reorganizing church and society; though Nuremberg escaped the war, Christoph Leibnitz died suddenly of the plague in 1632 and Saubert was himself embroiled in an exhausting battle.

Saubert wanted to end the ascendancy of Melancthon by restoring the unaltered Augsburg Confession. He quarrelled vigorously with the Nuremberg council over this between 1623 and 1646, especially with Georg Richter (1592-1651), the leading defender of humanistic Philippism and a man at home in the culture of late humanism,⁶⁶ whereas Saubert's milieu was that of conservative Lutheranism. In this struggle with the council, as his letters reveal, Saubert turned to conservative theologians such as Johannes Schmidt of Strasbourg and Andreae in Stuttgart.⁶⁷ Had Saubert cultivated Richter as a supporter or had Andreae accepted the position in Nuremberg, the history of the *Unio Christiana* might well have had a different ending.

In 1637 Saubert again attempted to fortify his position in this struggle by bringing Andreae to Nuremberg, this time as pastor at St. Sebaldus.⁶⁸ Once again Saubert took the position after Andreae declined to leave his homeland. Their mutual church interests necessitated close ties, and Andreae was certainly aware of the *Unio Christiana*'s continued existence, for he arranged for another stalwart in the society-building movement, Johann Abraham Pömer, to meet Baier and Saubert in 1641 and be admitted.⁶⁹ Andreae's last visit to Nuremberg in November 1642, where he met all of his old supporters—Kreß, W. J. Pömer, Baier, and of course Saubert—can be conceived of as a reunion of sorts. He also met J. A. Pömer

⁶⁶ Richter was educated at Altdorf and at the very best European universities (Helmstedt, Oxford, Paris, Heidelberg). Through his travels he was acquainted with an impressive circle of intellectuals whose spiritual ancestor was Erasmus—Georg Calixtus, the Polish Socinian Martinus Ruarus, Dury, Hugo Grotius. For details see Will, III, 305-11. Richter's letters, *Epistolae Selectiores ad Viros Nobilissimos Clarissimosque* (Nuremberg, 1662), record the breadth of his learning.

⁶⁷ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 221 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 267], wrote about Saubert's unpleasant fight in 1643 with the "Philippists." One of Saubert's weapons in the fight against Philippism was the renewal of piety, based on the teachings of Arndt. See van Dülmen, "Johannes Saubert," pp. 716-22.

⁶⁸ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 170 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 186].

⁶⁹ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 1 November 1641, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12. *Aug.* fol. 19.22-31; ed. Kvačala, I, 180-82; this letter will be discussed below.

for the first time; until then they had only corresponded about the utopian brotherhood known as *Antilia*.⁷⁰

What role did such a society play in the lives of these men? Pömer wrote eloquently of the effect that association with such men as Saubert and Baier had on his personal life. Andreae, however, did not see fit to mention the society in his autobiography, perhaps because in June 1642 (when he was drafting his *Vita*) he had already broached the subject of another Christian brotherhood with his patron. Saubert also was interested in grander schemes – he had had contact with Dury in 1633 about plans for a reunification of the Lutheran and reformed churches.⁷¹ Judging from the paucity of documentation, though, the *Unio Christiana* only attained a limited status: neither of the early biographical sources, Zeltner's *Vitae Theologorum Altorphinorum* (1722) and Will's *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1755-1758), featured his efforts to found a Christian brotherhood. Yet a special bond among the brothers existed as late as 1642 and the name *Unio Christiana* itself was still in use as a *tessera*, or watchword, as Pömer's letter (discussed below) will demonstrate. Saubert was plainly the moving force, for with his death in 1646, all traces of activity in Nuremberg vanish.

Though Andreae said the society *nunquam lucem vidit*, it clearly had a certain vitality as evidenced by Pömer's admission in 1641. A manuscript copy of the *Specimen* at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (*Cod. hist.* 4° 140, fols. 165-181) shows that Saubert and Andreae's utopian ideals were still alive in the next generation. Since all the subscribers listed were far too young to have been involved in Nuremberg initially – and all were from Württemberg – this manuscript demonstrates that the *Unio Christiana* had an independent existence some time after the deaths of Saubert and Andreae.

The force behind the revival of the fellowship in Württemberg was Andreae's son Gottlieb (1622-1683), who had studied at the Gymnasium in Nuremberg in 1637 and then at Tübingen. Since he began his service to the church in 1642 at Stuttgart-Cannstadt, he could have only been active with the original society between 1637-1639, if at all. He had maintained ties to Nuremberg, however, for he married Barbara Saubert in 1643, thus strengthening the bond

⁷⁰ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 210 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 251-52].

⁷¹ van Dülmen, "Johannes Saubert," p. 748.

between the two families.⁷² Joachim Christian New was councillor for the city of Nuremberg from 1642-1650; he then joined the court in Stuttgart as ducal and judicial adviser and assessor of the treasury.⁷³ Though he was too young to have been a founding member, he may have had some contact or known of the group from his time in Nuremberg; he was the only member of the later group not a clergyman. The other members were considerably younger and hailed from Württemberg as did Gottlieb Andreae. Johann Ulrich Pregizer;⁷⁴ Christoph Wölfflin, who identified himself in his subscription to the *Specimen* as Valentin Andreae's successor, alluding to his appointment to the Württemberg Consistory and as ecclesiastical superior to the court in 1667;⁷⁵ and Johann Jakob Mörleth, who identified himself as a successor to Andreae at Adelberg, *post 26. annorum intervalla*.⁷⁶ Since Andreae was appointed to Adelberg in 1654, the society may have been active till 1680 when Mörleth was appointed abbot. Finally the name of Ludwig Melchior Fischlin (1672-1729), identified as a deacon at the Xenodochium (or guest-house run by the church) in Stuttgart, was added some time after the others; as the author of an authoritative biographical work, *Memoria Theologorum Wirtembergensium* (Ulm, 1709-1710), he is certainly the best-known of the fellows.⁷⁷ In order for Fischlin to have been active, the society would have had to exist until the 1690s, which seems unlikely given the paucity of documentation. Noting that these other subscribers were from Württemberg, Peuckert and van Dülmen have assumed that they were non-participating members

⁷² He matriculated on 28 October 1639; magister in 1640, *Tübingen*, II, 215. See Andreae's *Vita*, pp. 169-70 [*Selbstbiographie*, pp. 185-86].

⁷³ New or Neu (c. 1620-1675), from Franconia, matriculated on 17 February 1636, and was doctor of laws in 1639, *Altdorf*, I, 228. See Will, III, 32-33; and the continuation of Biedermann's *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg*, ed. C. F. W. von Volckamer (Nuremberg, 1854), p. 140.

⁷⁴ Johann Ulrich Pregizer (1611-1672) was born, studied, and became professor of ethics at Tübingen (1644). He matriculated on 14 May 1622, was baccalaureus in 1625 and magister in 1627, *Tübingen*, II, 139.

⁷⁵ Wölfflin (1625-1688) also studied at Tübingen, matriculating on 20 July 1639, and was baccalaureus in 1640, magister in 1643, doctor of theology in 1661, and eventually professor of Greek and theology, *Tübingen*, II, 215. See Ludwig Melchior Fischlin, *Memoria Theologorum Wirtembergensium*, 2 parts with supplement (Ulm, 1709-1710), II, 312-19.

⁷⁶ Mörleth or Merleth (1630-1685) matriculated on 13 July 1650, and was magister in 1651, *Tübingen*, II, 242; he served in various churches. See Otto Haug, *Baden-Württembergisches Pfarrerbuch*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Scheufele, 1981), II, ii, 300.

⁷⁷ Fischlin matriculated on 19 April 1688, and was baccalaureus in May 1691 and magister in September 1691, *Tübingen*, II, 412.

of the Nuremberg society. It seems far more likely, given their ages, that they constituted a branch of the original group.⁷⁸

Manuscript evidence suggests this is the case. Württemberg MS, *Cod. hist.* 4° 140 is a fair copy of Andreae's *De Vita sua* (fols. 1-145), the account of his 1619 Austrian journey (later incorporated by Seybold, fols. 146-54), some testimonials from the Tübingen faculty during the scandal in 1607 (fols. 154-61), the *Specimen* (fols. 165-81), and excerpts from the Andreae-Johannes Schmidt correspondence (fols. 186-207). The library catalogue identifies it as an eighteenth-century transcription.⁷⁹ Following the *Specimen* in a Gothic, cursive hand is a useful, rather professional description in German of the original manuscript, from which *Cod. Hist.* 4° 140 was copied, complete with a reproduction of fol. 7 with marginal glosses and rubrication.

This charming original little book is in the above-given size and lay-out and form, in beautiful, delicate white parchment, clearly and elegantly written, on every page fifteen or sixteen lines, all lines of red ink. The subscriptions are entirely autograph, and collation reveals that it is without doubt from the hand of Christoph Leibnitz. . . . The subscription of the son, Gottlieb Andreae stands last on the paper; then the other half is not parchment, rather paper but not completely empty: on ours, an inscription from Ludwig Melchior Fischlin, this though in the hand of Gottlieb Andreae.⁸⁰

We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the librarian's ascription of the original to Christoph Leibnitz, especially since it accords well with the facts as they are known. After Leibnitz prepared a fair copy of Valentin Andreae's treatise, he then had it signed by the

⁷⁸ Peuckert, p. 178; van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 157.

⁷⁹ See *Die Handschriften der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Stuttgart*, ed. W. von Heyd (Stuttgart, 1891), II, 62.

⁸⁰ Württemberg MS, *Cod. Hist.* 4° 140, fol. 181^{r-v}: "Dieses holdseelige *Original-Büchlein* ist in obstehender Größe und Gestalt und *Form* [a duodecimo leaf is reproduced], auf schön zart weiß Pergament reinlich und zierlich geschrieben, auf jeder Seiten 15. a. 16. Zeilen; alle *linien* von rother Tinten. Die *Subscriptions* seynd lauter *authographi*, und gibt sich aus der *Collation*, daß es ohne Zweifel von der Hand des H. Christoph Leibnitzen ist, *Diac. Norimb.* Die äußere Gestalt betreffend, so war es in schwarz Sammet gebunden, der aber gantz abgenutzt ist, hingegen die Silber=vergoldte *Clausülen* und der guldene Schnitt noch in gutem Stand. Die *Subscription* des Sohns *Gottlieb Andree* stehet zu aller hinderest auf Papier; dann die andere helfte ist nicht Pergament, sondern Papier aber noch völlig leer; bey unß eine Inschrift von *M. Ludwig Melchior Fischlin, Diac. Xenod. Stuttg.*; dieses aber des *Theophili Andree* eigene Hand ist."

others in 1628. If all the signatures are autographs, then the Württemberg members must have added their subscriptions to this original manifesto, which Gottlieb Andreae evidently had in his possession. The new subscriptions were begun with Wölfflin's being placed directly under Andreae's as his successor. Mörleth's appointment to Adelberg gives us a *terminus* of 1680 for the existence of the Württemberg group. Fischlin apparently joined them later and his name was signed by Gottlieb Andreae. While other manuscript copies may have existed, they no longer can be found.⁸¹

Gottlieb Andreae, like his father before him in the original, was the last of the five new subscribers. He first paid elaborate tribute to his father – “Of this most radiant, holy and Christian union, inspired, impelled and led by the trinity of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, you were the creator and first supporter” – then to Saubert, his venerable father-in-law, to Baier, and the Leibnitzes. Finally he closed with a flourish of rhetorical exhortations: “Has not this union existed? Jove, thrice greatest Jove. Make this your union be without end! May this be a perpetual union on earth, as in heaven!”⁸² The *Unio Christiana* had at least enough vitality to inspire such a stellar group of fellows. Despite Gottlieb's fervent hopes, though, only this lone manuscript attests to the brotherhood's revival.

C. Pömer, Hein and Antilia

By far the best known and most ambitious of all the German brotherhoods of the time was *Antilia*. Inspired personally by Andreae's *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta*, a professor at Rostock gathered a group of students about him in the 1620s and enkindled in them a zeal for utopian ideals. They hoped to establish a Christian community, financed by their technological advances or mechanical

⁸¹ Hossbach, p. 179 n., made use of a manuscript of the Leibnitz original that was found in the papers of Andreae's friend and supporter, Melchior Nikolai (1578-1659). This would seem to be Württemberg MS, *Cod. Hist.* 4° 140, except Hossbach stated that the Nikolai manuscript corresponded exactly, page by page and line by line, to the Leibnitz original (either an octavo or duodecimo). Peuckert, p. 366, stated that Württemberg MS, *Cod. hist.* F. 739 kk. was the original, but I could find no traces of this or the “Nikolai” manuscript at the Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart.

⁸² Württemberg MS, *Cod. Hist.* 4° 140, fol. 180v.

productions, and even considered for a time transplantation to America. A group using this same name surfaced again in the late 1650s (to be discussed in chapter six). Though Heinrich Hein provided the initial impetus, their energy came from Johann Abraham Pömer (1604-1687), one of the central figures in the society-movement of the early seventeenth century. In communication with Andreae, Comenius, Hartlib, Dury, and many others, Pömer was tireless in his efforts; more successful than these others, he ended his days in a spiritual and intellectual community not unlike the ones he had labored so long to establish.

A scion of the same patrician family as the benefactor to the *Unio Christiana*, Pömer was born in the fortress Königstein near Sulzbach (about fifty miles from Nuremberg), but was listed as a Nuremberger at his matriculation at Altdorf.⁸³ He studied for a time at the University of Rostock and then lived in Danzig, where he married in 1628.⁸⁴ After his wife's death in childbirth the next year (on 5 November 1629), he lived an itinerant life for nearly a decade, journeying to Prague, Poland, the low countries, England, and back to northern Germany in hopes of founding a society he called *Antilia*. Through his travels he became associated with many leading intellectuals at work to promote peace and brotherhood. In Poland he met the Socinian Martin Ruarus (and was afterwards described as a crypto-Socinian because of this connection), who gave him a letter of introduction to Hugo Grotius in Hamburg. He visited with Hartlib and Dury in England, was sympathetic to their church unification efforts, and probably played a small role in promoting this goal by distributing Dury's manuscripts.⁸⁵ Pömer also visited

⁸³ According to *Altdorf*, I, 155, he matriculated 25 April 1619. Andreae's patron Wolfgang Jacob Pömer was a member of the "Wolffische" branch of the family; J. A. Pömer, whose name was given in family records as Hansz Abraham I. Pömer, was a descendant of the "Hansische" branch. Wolfgang Jacob's grandfather (Wolff Pömer, 1536-1601) and Johann Abraham's father (Hansz Pömer, 1551-1616) were brothers. See Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg*, Tab. DLXXV, Sig. Cccc 4^r, and Tab. DXC.c, Sig. Eeee 4^r. I use the modern spelling of Pömer (instead of Pöhmer), a form he also used himself, e.g., at his matriculation at Altdorf, *Joan. Abrahamus Pömer, Norimb.*

⁸⁴ He matriculated in March 1625, *Rostock*, III, 59; later he married a widow, Helena Bachmann and they had a son Gottfried Christian (1629-1644); see Will, III, 210.

⁸⁵ In a letter to the Nuremberger Georg Richter, 2 April 1634 letter, Dury mentioned that Pömer had written him about Richter's outstanding efforts in moderating the influence of a certain theologian (probably Saubert), which aided Dury's own efforts at propagating truth and peace, and he thanked Richter in Pömer's name. Richter

Comenius at Lissa in 1639.⁸⁶ In the late 1630s Pömer settled in Nuremberg, where he held a number of administrative positions. As a well-travelled aristocrat, he would have been a useful member of the legations to which he was a party.⁸⁷ Like most of those involved in the society-movement, he was not an original thinker. He understood and to some degree participated in leading intellectual debates of the time, though he made no significant contributions. His last testament reveals that while he was a diligent book collector, his only literary remains were a few translations of a hagiographical nature.⁸⁸ He was, however, personally charismatic and fully committed to the utopian brotherhood as an ideal.

At Rostock Pömer came under the influence of Hein (c. 1590-1666), who was from an academic family at Rostock: his father Friedrich Hein (d. 1604) was professor of law, then senator, consul and syndicus of the city of Rostock; his uncle Albertus Hein was also professor of law; and his uncle Stephan Hein was professor of philosophy and Hebrew. While he did not hold a regular faculty appointment, he taught law at Rostock in the 1620s.⁸⁹ Hein played the primary role in attracting a group of visionary students to his lectures and introducing them to the ideal of the fraternal order as

printed the letter in *Epistolæ Selectiores ad Viros Nobilissimos Clarissimosque* (Nuremberg, 1662), p. 170.

⁸⁶ Letter, Comenius to Hartlib, August 1639, from Lissa, Bodleian MS, Rawlinson C. 911, fol. 637; ed. Kvačala, I, 140-41.

⁸⁷ We know from Pömer's letter to Jungius, 5 September 1639, from Danzig, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, 42^v, that he had been in service to his fatherland for some time: "Sonsten Meinen Zustand belangend, bin ich nun etliche Jahr in Diensten Meines Vaterlandes, wiewol selten zu haus, sondern in *Legationibus*, und mehrentheils am Kayserlichen Hofe." Sketches of Pömer are available in the Familienbuch Pöhmers, Bamberg Staatsbibliothek MS, J. H. I. 181, p. 208 (ed. Kvačala, I, 72-73), and Will, III, 210-12.

⁸⁸ In his will, dated 24 November 1677, Pömer named Duke Christian August of Sulzbach as his executor and left to him the decision about future publication of his manuscripts; see Will, III, 211. The library at Sulzbach passed to the control of the Elector of Mainz and thence to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, though no Pömer manuscripts can be located there now (according to Dr. D. Kudorfer, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, personal letter, 12 July 1993). I wish to acknowledge the help of Dr. Volker Wappmann in tracing the course of the Sulzbach library.

⁸⁹ Hein was certainly a wandering scholar. He matriculated in December 1603, *Rostock*, II, 277; on 5 August 1611, *Gießen*, p. 191; on 6 October 1611 and again on 21 May 1618, *Heidelberg*, II, 257, 289; and as a law student on 15 May 1620, *Leiden*, I, 147. For biographical details, see Johann F. Recke and Karl E. Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexicon der Provinzen Livland, Ehstland und Kurland*, 4 vols. (Mitau, 1827-1832), II, 212.

remedy to public ills using Andreae's utopian writings, as Pömer later explained to Andreae:

But indeed the occasion, which brought you into our conversation so often . . . was that *Dextera porrecta amoris Christiani*, which indeed he, ever desirous of such things, presented repeatedly as a unique and most perfect idea of a philosophical society to me, and very kindly invited me to it.⁹⁰

Hein and Andreae never met personally; Hein knew him only through his writings and corresponded with him. Andreae, nonetheless, lauded him in his autobiography and dedicated his 1619 *Turris Babel* to him.⁹¹

In 1632 Hein accepted a professorship in the far reaches of northern Europe, perhaps fearing the renewal of hostilities as a result of Gustavus Adolphus's campaign in central Europe (who took the Rhineland, Bavaria, and Bohemia).⁹² At the newly established university at Dorpat in Livonia (i.e., Tartu, Estonia), Hein lectured on Roman and Swedish law and was assessor of the Livonian High Court of Justice, whose seat was then at Dorpat.⁹³ Hein's circumstances were apparently disagreeable, for in 1640 Pömer asked Andreae's help in freeing Hein from his "drudgery" in the north, so he could return to Germany to rejoin those working for *Antilia*.⁹⁴ But it appears as though Hein's only real involvement came in 1636 when he met with the duke of Holstein (discussed

⁹⁰ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, from Nuremberg, 23 March 1636, *Cod. Guelf.* 11. 12. Aug. 2^o, f. 19; partially ed. Kvačala, I, 54-55.

⁹¹ Andreae, *Vita*, p. 81 [*Selbstbiographie*, p. 88], described Hein as *rarae devotionis exemplum cui Turris Babel inscriptus*; he was listed among those with whom Andreae had *literarum commercium* (also listed was Kepler). No correspondence has survived.

⁹² Karl Inno, *Tartu University in Estonia During the Swedish Rule (1632-1710)* (Stockholm: Vaba Eesti, 1972), pp. 86-87, states that Hein was made assessor in January 1631 as well as professor at the Gymnasium.

⁹³ Hein apparently had considerable administrative duties, for he received a larger salary from the court than the university; see Hein's letter to Johann F. Schletzer, 18 March 1665, from Dorpat, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* (4^o) 72, fol. 127. Shortly before his death he complained that he no longer received his salary regularly: only 380 *Reichsthalers* from the court and 250 from the university. His annual salary from the university was supposed to be 400 *Reichsthalers*.

⁹⁴ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 5 October 1640, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o fol. 29-30; ed. Kvačala, I, 172-73. In an earlier letter to Jungius, 5 September 1639, from Danzig, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, 43, Pömer had merely observed that Hein would exchange his position for a better one; Hein's situation thus may have deteriorated.

below). In later years he reportedly founded an *Arndianum collegam et chemiae* at Dorpat; and, in his last surviving personal letter, he referred to “unser lang desiderraten *Antilia*.”⁹⁵ He ended his days there, meeting with his infrequent visitors and corresponding with his old friends.⁹⁶ In Hein’s absence the spirited patrician from Nuremberg, of necessity, became the mainstay of the effort to found the society they called *Antilia*.

The name for their society was taken from that of a fabulous lost island in the Atlantic that mariners had sometimes seen but could not reliably locate. David Riccius described *Antilia* to Hartlib as a “certain Iland w^{ch} is cleerly discerned afaroff[f] but when one comes neere it it vanished Soe.”⁹⁷ Legend had it that the archbishop of Pôrto with six other bishops, fleeing from Moorish invaders in the eighth century, took refuge on an island they named *Ilha das Sete Cidades* or *Septe Citade*. Once Portuguese navigators began exploring the Atlantic, an island due south of the Azores, thought to be the lost Seven Cities but called “*Antilia*” – perhaps from *ante ilha*, an island lying before or in front of Portugal – was first drawn on the 1424 Nautical Chart by the Venetian cartographer Zuane Pizzigano. The following year, in what may be the first attempt to represent the new world, this island appeared on a portolano belonging to the Library of Weimar, then on a 1436 map prepared by the Venetian Andrea Bianco, and thereafter on nearly all contemporary maps.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Letter, Morsius to Jungius, 26 August 1643, from Schleswig, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, 22; ed. Avé-Lallemant, p. 346: “Doctor Heinius vovet sibi Arndianum Collegam, et chemiae non prorsus imperitum.” Letter, Heinrich Hein to Johann F. Schletzer, from Dorpat, 18 March 1665, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* (4^o) 72, fol. 127.

⁹⁶ We know that David Riccius visited in 1639, for he reported to Hartlib, *Ephemerides*, SUL H 30.4.56b-57a: “D^r Hein knows accurately the whole History in the beginning and Ending of the Fratres Roseæ crucis of whom Riccius promised to procure a complemente.” None of Hein’s scholarly correspondence survives. According to Dr. Male Ermel, none can be found at the Tartu University Library (personal letter, 28 October 1993) – nor could Kvačala, a professor at Dorpat in the 1890s, find any when preparing his edition of Comenius’s letters. The Dorpat University archives are now held at the Riksarkivet, Stockholm: included are twelve letters from Hein to the Swedish chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (chiefly asking for his intercession in a tax dispute with the dukes of Mecklenburg over an estate he inherited), and some letters to other Swedish diplomats, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie and Peter Julius Coyet; letters to the Consistorium Academicum at Dorpat on administrative matters of a routine nature are also extant.

⁹⁷ *Ephemerides* (1639), SUL H 30.4.56b.

⁹⁸ See Armando Cortesão, *The Nautical Chart of 1424 and the Early Discovery and Carto-*



From Philip Clüver, *Introductionis in universam geographiam tam veterem quam novam Libri VII* (Amsterdam, 1661).

Pömer most likely would have known of Antilia and its legend from one of his city's most celebrated civic monuments, Martin Behaim's *Globus* of 1492, commissioned by the city council and proudly displayed in the Rathaus.⁹⁹ Like his friend Columbus, Behaim sharpened his cartographic skills in service to the Portuguese court (1479-1491), and his globe essentially depicted the world that Columbus believed he was exploring. Columbus certainly knew of the island from a letter by Paolo Toscanelli and believed he had caught a shimmering glimpse of it on his first voyage on 25 September 1492.¹⁰⁰ Antilia appeared prominently upon Behaim's globe in the open Atlantic, forty-six degrees east of Japan and just below the Tropic of Cancer; also included was an account of the legend of *Insula Septem Civitatum* and of a Spanish sighting in 1414. Another German cartographer, Johann Ruysch, whose engraving "Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula ex recentibus confecta observationibus" appeared in an edition of Ptolemy's *Geographica* (Rome, 1508), also gave essentially the same history of the island as Behaim. The island of Antilia thereafter found a place on most of the major maps of the sixteenth century, e.g., as *Insula Antigliæ*, adjacent to Haiti, on Simon Grynæus's *Novus Orbis* (Basel, 1532) and as Antilla in an edition of *Ptolemæus* (Basel, 1540). It thus replaced such legendary groups as the Hesperides or the Islands of Saint Brendan. When the name *Las Antilhas* or *Les Antilles* was later given to the entire West Indies, the fabled island began to appear on maps as *Insula Septem Civitatum*, located just above the Tropic of Cancer and east of Bermuda, e.g., Mercator's (1538) and Ortelius's (1570). No doubt the idea of a spiritual elite (i.e., the seven bishops in their separate cities) united on an island enclave, like that of Uto-

graphical Representation of America (Coimbra: U of Coimbra P, 1954), pp. 59-74; A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, trans. Johan Adolf Ekelöf and Clements R. Markham (Stockholm, 1889; rpt. New York: Dover, 1973) p. 65; and Samuel Eliot Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1640), pp. 15-21.

⁹⁹ Martin Behaim (1459-1506) learned mathematics from the great Regiomantus (in residence 1471-1475) and is credited with improving the astrolabe to such an extent that it became a serviceable mariner's instrument. See Ernst G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim, His Life and His Globe* (London, 1907).

¹⁰⁰ See Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Heritage, 1963), pp. 12-14, 57. In the standard European geography for a hundred years, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* (1550), Columbus was credited with the discovery of the Island of *Antiglia*; see *A Treatise of the Neue India*, trans. Rycharde Eden (London, 1553), Sig. L.iiiiv.

pia or Caphar Salama, commended this name to Pömer.

Rostock was certainly a seedbed for secret brotherhoods in the 1620s. The true "Jesuits" of the *Secta heroica* were to assemble there in 1619; the *Societas Ereunetica* flourished from 1622-1624, and Jungius had assumed his old chair in September 1626; Hein and Tassius were in residence as well. The majority of those associated with *Antilia* were students at the university: Caspar Gödemann of Lüneburg entered in June 1623; Johann Fridwald (c. 1590-1659), whose letters to Hartlib (discussed below) are the main source on membership in the brotherhood, entered in June 1624; Pömer came six months later in March 1625; Johann Friedrich Schletzer, student of Jungius, friend of Joachim Hübner and Hartlib, entered in January 1626.¹⁰¹ Another active Antilian entered in June 1625, David Riccius, whose grandfather taught Fridwald, the Hartlibs, Johann Koy, *et al.* at the Gymnasium in Danzig.¹⁰² Fridwald mentioned others who may also have studied at Rostock: Herr Krebsen or Krebs, Dr. Baumann, and Herr Botz.¹⁰³ Others were associated through their connections with Elbing (i.e., Elbląg, Poland) or Danzig, where Pömer had settled at the time, Theophilus Homodei of Danzig, Michael Laurin of Elbing, and quite possibly Andres Hünefeld (1581-1666), printer of the *Danziger Bibel* (1632) and of numerous Rosicrucian writings.¹⁰⁴ Through his travels Pömer recruited one member, Michaël Weide, the organist at Torun, who committed himself to *Antilia*.¹⁰⁵ Other names have not yet been

¹⁰¹ *Rostock*, III, 51, 57, 59, 64. Schletzer (1610-1673) studied mathematics with Jungius in Rostock and later at *Leiden*, I, 264.

¹⁰² *Rostock*, III, 61. Riccius was born c. 1600 at Oppaira in Silesia. His grandfather was a Neapolitan aristocrat, educated in Germany (Rostock, Wittenberg, Jena, Strasbourg), who then converted and resettled; eventually he was professor of history and law at the Gymnasium at Danzig, a connection that could may bind many Antilians together. Riccius taught at the Gymnasium in Hamburg under Jungius (16 January 1630). See Zedler, XXXI, 1253; Jöcher III, 2067; *ADB*, XXVIII, 410.

¹⁰³ Henricus Krevet (Latin, Krebs) matriculated in April 1619, *Rostock*, III, 32. At least six Baumanns were at Rostock between 1610 and 1630. Botz may be Johan Botsack (1600-1674), Lutheran theologian in Danzig, who entered Rostock in 1620 and was made magister in 1625, III, 40, 60; later he was professor of Hebrew 1630 and rector of the Gymnasium in Danzig, 1631, *Danzig*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁴ Homodei studied at the Gymnasium in Danzig from August 1612, *Danzig*, p. 90. Laurin entered Königsberg on 13 July 1628, *Königsberg*, I, 309. In a letter to Hartlib, 18 July 1629, from Elbing, SUL H 27.34.3b, Fridwald referred to his brother-in-law, "Andr. H." whom Turnbull cautiously identifies as Hünefeld, *HDC*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁵ According to Fridwald, 10 February 1628 letter to Hartlib, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.34.1a. Years later, Joachim Polemann told Hartlib (letter, 25 July 1659, from

given more certain identification.¹⁰⁶ To these idealistic youths can be added the names of a few others from the same generation as Jungius and Andreae, who seemed to have had leadership roles: Koy (c. 1584-1632) of Elbing, later Bürgermeister there;¹⁰⁷ Hermann Rathmann (1585-1628), minister at St. Catharinen in Danzig who strove to awaken others to the practical Christianity advocated by Arndt;¹⁰⁸ Phillip Glaum (1580-1650), the educational reformer whose method Comenius admired;¹⁰⁹ and Joachim Morsius, who studied at Rostock under Jungius.¹¹⁰

Fortunately the blueprint for this society, the *Leges Antiliae*, survives among the Hartlib Papers. When G. H. Turnbull was given access to the papers by the estate of Lord Delamere in the 1930s, he discovered a manuscript entitled *Leges Societatis Christianae* (SUL H 55.20.1a-5a) in the same bundle as manuscripts of Andreae's *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta* (SUL H 55.19.2a-16b). In his edition Turnbull discussed the problems of attribution and rather tentatively identified them as the Baltic society's instead of those for Andreae's *Socie-*

Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 11^{r-v}) that Weide had told him about *Antilia*.

¹⁰⁶ Fridwald mentioned men named Morlaeus, M. Weier or Wejerus, Nicodemus Farber, Johann Knosrius, and most importantly one named Zell, who played a key role, all of whom are as yet unidentified.

¹⁰⁷ Coy matriculated on 4 July 1600, *Aldorf*, I, 73, where his classmates included many who would later form the *Unio Christiana*. Conrad Baier matriculated ten days later 14 July 1600; Daniel Schwenter entered on 12 August 1601; Christoph Leibnitz entered 22 October 1601; and Johann Saubert entered 2 September 1603; see *Aldorf*, I, 77, 78, 85. Coy also studied at Marburg (1604) and law (1609), *Leiden*, I, 95.

¹⁰⁸ Rathmann was born in Lübeck and studied at Rostock (though not officially matriculated, or at least is not listed). Dedicating himself to the defense of his faith, he went to Cologne to learn the mystery and art of disputation from the Jesuits, where his industry won him a master's degree in spite of his religion. After studying theology at Leipzig, he settled in 1612 at Danzig as a deacon at St. Johannis, deacon at St. Marien (1617), and eventually minister at St. Catharinen (1626). The *ADB* article stated: "daß Rathmann, nicht nur ein tüchtig durchgebildeter Theologe, sondern auch ein wahrhaft frommer Mann, in seinem Amte bestrebt, praktisches Christenthum zu erwecken und zu erhalten, Joh. Arndt's Erbauungsschriften, diese ersten Versuche, die Gemüther aus einer erstickenden Orthodoxie zu befreien, empföhlen hatte . . ." (*ADB*, XXVII, 358). He had numerous published writings. See Jöcher, III, 1918.

¹⁰⁹ Glaum (or Glumius) matriculated on 22 April 1598, *Heidelberg* II, 192, and took his doctorate in law in 1618, *Erfurt*, II, 525. He taught law at Gießen from 1616-1621, where he perfected a method of teaching feudal law in eight days; in one month the *Institutes*; a foreign language in four weeks. He published *Castellana de methodo docendi artem quamvis intra octiduum* (Gießen, 1621) and (Frankfurt, 1622). He offered this method in Steinfurt, Herborn, Halle, and elsewhere; from 1627 he practiced in Frankfurt. See Jöcher, Supplement II, 1482-83.

¹¹⁰ He matriculated in April 1610, *Rostock*, II, 299.

tas Christiana.¹¹¹ In actuality, the case for positive identification is quite strong if one considers another manuscript found with them, Dury's *De Legibus Societatis Christianæ Exercitatio* (SUL H 55.20.5b-10b). We know this critique was written sometime after Dury first encountered the brotherhood but before he left Elbing (i.e., before 1630). Because the *Exercitatio* refers point by point to the numbered *Leges*, there can be little doubt that Dury had these particular statutes in mind.¹¹² Both manuscripts also bear the Hebrew superscription from the twenty-third Psalm favored by Dury as a personal mark; both are in Dury's hand. We know furthermore that Dury conveyed his own copy – I believe SUL H 55.20 – along with his *censura* to Hartlib in 1630.¹¹³ The *Leges Societatis Christianæ* are, thus, almost certainly the *Leges Antiliæ*, as indeed both these names were used for this society.¹¹⁴ Because they are largely unknown, yet present such a vivid picture of the community on the Baltic envisioned by Pömer and Hein, a translation is given in Appendix B.

While Riccius told Hartlib that “Ratmannius of Dantzick made the *Leges Antiliæ et dextra*,” Hein or Pömer more likely had a larger role in drafting them. (Riccius may have meant that Rathmann was responsible for copying and disseminating them.¹¹⁵) The *leges* fall under two main heads: the first three laws concern the spiritual state of the soul; all those remaining concern either civil behavior (3-60) or religious behavior (61-71). The society was to have a definite hierarchy, established as a meritocracy not a gerontocracy (8). The magistracy – the master, twelve senators, twenty-four seniors or elders – was elected and had unrestricted powers. They could admonish, correct, seize, and emend their juniors (11).

¹¹¹ G. H. Turnbull, “Johann Valentin Andreaes *Societas Christiana*,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 73 (1954):407-14. In his earlier work, *HDC*, p. 75, Turnbull had gone so far as to attribute the laws to Andreae. For a discussion of the *Leges Societatis Christianæ*, see Enrico De Mas, “Antilia e Macaria: Due Progetti di Società Cristiana nel Seicento,” *Pensiero Politico* 9 (1976):348-53.

¹¹² Hartlib sent several items, e.g., BL MS, Sloane 653, fol. 135^r, to Peter Zimmermann (c. 1633), including the *Leges Societatis cum Durei censura*.

¹¹³ Johann Fridwald, in his 22 November 1630 letter to Hartlib, from Pillau, SUL H 27.34.7a, reported that Dury, having recently returned to London, would be able to supply what Hartlib had long desired from Fridwald, copies of the *Confessio et Leges Antiliæ*.

¹¹⁴ While the *leges* were referred to at times as the *Leges Antiliæ*, they were also called simply the *Leges Societatis nostræ* by Johann Fridwald in his 28 November 1629 letter to Hartlib, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.34.5a.

¹¹⁵ *Ephemerides* (1639), SUL H 30.4.56b.

All were expected to be their brother's keepers: anyone observing but not reporting an offense was punishable by the same penalty as the offender (12-13). Much is reminiscent of the cowl. Rules governed privacy; no one could walk alone and a senior always had to be present with a junior during walks (16). Meals were taken in a monastic setting and were always monitored by the seniors (24-29). There were vows of obedience, silence and secrecy (19-20, 44); even clothing was prescribed (59). Juniors were restricted in their contact with women (17); and seniors had a hand in arranging marriages (52). Women were recognized within the society; indeed, the community would include families and children. A *Materfamilias*, served by the other women, had responsibility for matters of sanitation (28). Prayers and hymns were said before and after meals, and before and after sleep (29).

Not surprisingly, the Antilians were chary of outsiders, and no one could disclose any secrets—especially the secret institutes and discoveries of the society—to anyone without the consent of the seniors (38). All traffic with outsiders was overseen by the seniors (39). Private property was not disallowed, but everyone was expected to contribute to the commonweal (46). No one was permitted to work for personal profit or gain; all the wealth of the society from agricultural or mechanical productions was to be available for common use in public storehouses (50-51). Great care was to be taken about the education and moral development of the youth (56-58). They seemed generally tolerant as regards religious practices. While the service would have an apostolic simplicity (68) and the Bible would be their touchstone (71), auricular confession was encouraged (69). Also noteworthy, amid the general emphasis on secrecy, is that the scrutiny of nature was an important activity (22). Law 32 reveals that their reading of the Book of Nature was inscribed with Paracelsian notions, such as the doctrine of *signatures* or the *astrum*.

If anyone speaks at table, let his words be about God so that it produces useful things agreeably from the book of grace or of nature, and necessary things drawn from the occasion of meals, *which may be on the matter of nature, the temperaments, signatures, the astrum*, etc.: let them speak first of physical matters—of wine, oil, wheat, and salt—and then let all things be accommodated theologically.

An interest in Paracelsus certainly accords well with information

Hartlib provided about their work in alchemy (discussed below).

Much of what is known of the early efforts of the Antilians derives from the 1627-1633 correspondence of Fridwald with Hartlib, who was laboring for *Antilia* in England. A native of Elbing and student at the Gymnasium in Danzig where Hartlib's older brother studied, Fridwald was acquainted with Hartlib in his youth and associated with Pömer at Rostock.¹¹⁶ Fridwald may very well have introduced Hartlib to Hein and Pömer, for he acted as intermediary between Pömer and Hartlib (forwarding letters from Hartlib to Pömer at Torun). From Fridwald's first surviving letter to Hartlib in Elbing, we learn that Pömer was directing the group's activities and that "it has been thus far decided in the Antilian cause that we should strive in advance for the *education of children* and establish the foundation to this."¹¹⁷ Fridwald hoped to bring Pömer and Hartlib together in Königsberg or Elbing to prepare for their future work, before Hartlib left for England. When he wrote Hartlib several weeks later, they were still waiting word from Pömer at Rostock (who could come to Königsberg only if the war abated). Also of interest, these early letters direct our attention to the presence of Dury, the "Englischen Prediger" from 1625-1630 to the English Company of Merchants at Elbing, whose writings were in some demand.¹¹⁸

Sometime during the spring of 1628, Hartlib (who studied at Cambridge in the early 1620s) returned to England to secure an English patron and to investigate the possibility of transporting *Antilia* to the English colony in Virginia, tasks apparently set by Pömer. Since this society was projected as an actual community, as is evident from their *leges*, land was needed. Various locations were under consideration, but progress had been hampered by the war, the absence of several prominent members (Hein and Glumius were named), and the death of Zell, who had served as a kind of

¹¹⁶ According to *Danzig*, p. 72, "Johannes Friedwaldt" of Elbing matriculated at Danzig in January 1605. While a "Georg Hartlieb" of Elbing matriculated in April 1608, there is no record of Samuel's having attended (p. 79). In June 1624 Fridwald matriculated at Rostock according to *Rostock*, III, 57. His grandfather may have been the diplomat Michael Friedwald of Elbing (d. 1590s at Marienbad).

¹¹⁷ Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 10 February 1628, from Regiomontanus [Königsberg], SUL H 27.34.1a-b. I am using grateful to John Young for allowing me to consult his transcription of the Fridwald letters prepared for the Hartlib Papers Project. See also Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 69-73.

¹¹⁸ Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 8 March 1628, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.34.2a-b.

director.¹¹⁹ Pömer in fact was moving from Danzig to Elbing since the increasingly bleak conditions there hindered efforts. (In the summer of 1629 a second Prussian campaign was begun for the ports of Memel, Pillau and Elbing, which had first been captured by Gustavus Adolphus in 1625; Wallenstein had sent an imperialist army to reinforce King Sigismund of Poland.) At this point, Pömer needed a clear report from Hartlib on the prospects for the *deductione nouæ coloniae in Virgin[ia]* because of the situation on the Baltic. Hartlib may have counted on his connections with Sir Thomas Roe (1581?-1644), a major shareholder in the Virginia Company, a leading figure in the movement to establish an English West Indies Company, and Dury's patron in the work for ecclesiastical pacification.¹²⁰ Virginia was at first a very attractive prospect, but the Antilians later rejected it because of its remoteness and the danger posed by Spanish incursions.¹²¹

Meanwhile Pömer was weighing other options in Polish Kurland and Livonia. A refuge near Vilnius was rejected as too barbarian. A location farther north in Livonia may have been actually settled by a small group of laborers working for Fridwald and his brother-in-law, Hünefeld. The land had been first made available by the Polish king to the earl of Torun and other prominent exiles, who then declined it because of the harsh climate and uncouth people. Fridwald reported that some twenty hardy souls had already been dispatched to labor in this wilderness. Though other Antilians were evidently not much attracted to this site, Fridwald's statement opens the possibility that the settlement may have also been in part a business venture (*alß handels halben*) to fund other Antilian projects.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 18 July 1629, from Elbing, SUL H 27.34.3a-4b; a letter from Pömer to Hartlib accompanied Fridwald's. Fridwald reported having received three letters from Hartlib: 1 November 1628, 10 March 1629, and 15 April 1629.

¹²⁰ See Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1970), pp. 109-13, 196-99.

¹²¹ In the 28 November 1629 letter to Hartlib, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.34.5a, Fridwald wrote that one of the Antilians would journey to Virginia via England in the summer of 1630 to investigate firsthand, since the prospects for political and religious liberty seemed greater there than elsewhere. But in his next letter, June 1630 (SUL H 27.34.6a), he explained that a Virginia colony had been found inadvisable. However in the 22 November 1630 letter (SUL H 27.34.7a-b) the question still seemed open and New England was also included as a possibility.

¹²² Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 18 July 1629, from Elbing, SUL H 27.34.3b: "Ich aber habe neben meinem Htm Schw[ager]. Andr. H. in selbigem orth dennoch etliche

Perhaps the most intriguing prospect of all was a small island called Ruhnu in the Gulf of Riga under the domain of the Swedish commanding general, Jakob de la Gardie.¹²³ Fridwald himself was not hopeful about Ruhnu Island, after having entreated de la Gardie personally in Elbing, because he feared that the Swedish Lutherans would not grant the Antilians religious freedom and that de la Gardie's character was not as it had been described.¹²⁴ Pömer too was inclined to look to Prussia for a site after the treaty of Altmark (September 1629) had given them a six year amnesty. But Hein was still negotiating with the duke of Holstein for permission for the society to settle there as late as 1636.¹²⁵ The island itself seems to have been quite desolate, with "foule, sharp stonie ground," and virtually uninhabited.¹²⁶ Small wonder that no one founded a colony there.

Hartlib also sought a suitable patron who might unite them all *vinculo sincere charitatis*. His progress reports to Fridwald clearly bolstered the others. In addition to being an aristocrat, the presumed patron was "well versed in all things," especially the mysteries of medicine and chemistry. Apparently Hartlib never named him, for Dury (who did not leave for London until June 1630) could only speculate that Sir Patrick Ruthven was meant.¹²⁷ It seems more likely that Hartlib had someone else in mind, because Ruthven (1573?-1651) was a soldier fighting in the army of Gustavus

20 personen arbeitsleute dahin abgefertigt im Wildnütz zu arbeiten, vnd ist von mihr mehr dahin gemeinet derogestalt neue *plantation* anzustellen, alß handelß halben, deßen ich mich sonst gern gantz entäußern will." In his 28 November 1629 letter, he did excuse his tardy reply because of his various business obligations and the many journeys he was forced to take. Milada Blekastad, *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský* (Oslo and Prague: Universitets-forlaget, 1969), pp. 280-81, writes that Antilians were secretly connected with the duke of Holstein's plans (1633) to open a commercial route from Russia to Persia via rivers and canals.

¹²³ de la Gardie (1583-1652) had been created a count by Gustavus Adolphus in 1615 in recognition of his services to the crown and granted large estates. His father was a Frenchman who had entered the service of the king of Sweden in 1565.

¹²⁴ Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 28 November 1629, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.34.5a-b.

¹²⁵ Letter, Dury to Hartlib, 20 August 1636, from Stockholm. I cite a draft from the Hartlib Papers, SUL H 9.1.34b-35a.

¹²⁶ William Johnson [Willem Jansz Blaeu], *The Light of Navigation, Wherein Are Declared and Lively Portrayed, all the Coasts and Havens, of the West, North and East Seas*, 2 books in 1 vol. (Amsterdam, 1612), II, 47.

¹²⁷ Respectively, letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 18 July 1629, from Elbing, SUL H 27.34.3b; June 1630, from Elbing, SUL H 27.34.6a.

Adolphus from 1606 until 1638 almost continuously; his interest in chemistry seems limited.¹²⁸ In any case, Hartlib's noble patron never made good on his promises. Nearly two years passed between the initial flurry of letters after Hartlib's return and a second series in 1632-1633.¹²⁹ Fridwald asked him to pursue the matter of *Antilia* to the utmost with the earl again, because he apparently made his intentions known before while *in vinis*. (Ruthven was said to have been an accomplished tippler.) A binding decision had been expected since June 1630. Should he finally commit his patronage, several Antilians were prepared to come to England on the next ship.¹³⁰

While the evidence is by no means clear, the problem seems to have been a rift with one of the principals, whom Fridwald identified only as the author of an alchemical manuscript, *De Lapide philosophico*. This alchemist offered his secrets and services in support of *Antilia*, but the earl was still undecided about the author's character.¹³¹ It seems that seed money was needed from the earl to finance experiments that would enrich all concerned. Three years later (April 1633), Pömer was himself preparing to travel to England to communicate directly with the English nobleman, because the difficulties causing the earl to balk were not being overcome by intermediaries. The chemist even had offered to demonstrate the *Secretum lap[idis] philosoph[orum]* to remove any scruples the earl might harbor. This magnanimous gesture, in Fridwald's view, established his *bona fides*, since he had allegedly refused six thousand

¹²⁸ For details, see *DNB*, XVII, 511-13. Ruthven was knighted by the Swedish king in 1627, after having distinguished himself at the battle of Dirschau; he received the Grafschaft of Kirchberg near Ulm in 1632. Later he was the commanding general of royalist forces for a time and was created earl of Forth by Charles I in 1642. He compiled a popular collection of recipes and remedies, *The Ladies Cabinet Opened* (London, 1639); the title page of the second edition described him as a "Learned Chymist."

¹²⁹ Fridwald sent letters to Hartlib in London on 18 July 1629, 28 November 1629, [n. d.] June 1630, 26 May 1630, and 22 November 1630; then again 11 October 1632, 17 January 1633, 27 April 1633, and 30 April 1633.

¹³⁰ Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 11 October 1632, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.348a: "Bitte demnach dinstfreundlich dieses *negocium* den *Antilianis studiis* zum besten äußerst zu befördern, vnd da derselbe *Comes* noch *in vinis* were, ihm die sache nochmahlß recht vorzutragen, auch deßelben *resolution* mit chester sicherer gelegenheit an mich oder anderen in seinem deß *Autoris* schreiben angedeuteten orth zufertiegen, damit er wißen möge, waß er sich zu halten."

¹³¹ Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, June 1630, from Elbing, SUL H 27.34.6a.

Reichstalers for his secrets.¹³² Fridwald still believed that God would at last supply the Antilians with a suitable place and a patron even after years of dickering.

In the end, however, Hartlib was not able to garner any financial support in England for this utopian venture, these prospects notwithstanding.¹³³ In northern Europe the negotiations were frequently hindered by the deaths of several of the prime movers, a difficulty Fridwald mentioned repeatedly (e.g., 18 July 1629, 11 October 1632, 27 April 1633). As late as 1636, Hein was still negotiating with the duke of Holstein for permission for the society to settle there, according to Dury who was in Stockholm from May 1636 to July 1638. He reported that a Livonian named Heinrich Morian had secured permission from the Swedish crown to propagate Christianity in Russia.

hee said his principal aime would bee, to see if hee could procure from the Emp^r liberty, to haue a Schoole created in some frontiers There where the long looked for Society might bee settled in some safe place to bee a Seed of Learning to convert that Nation from Superstition. Hee made the matter probable to take effect with many circumstances: but specially one w^{ch} is the negotiation with a certain Company of Merchants vnder the protection of the D. of Holstein doe begin to frame towards the East-Indies by land through Moscovia. Now where trade beginneth and comerce with forraine Nations, there all other th[ing]^s may bee advanced. Now the Isle once heretofore named and yet designed for a place of retreat to the Society is called Rhunen, not farre from Riga. It belongeth to the L^d Admiral of this Crown a most honest man and godly. D^r Hein hath spoken to mee of it now, when hee went last from hence towards Holstein to trie what assistance might bee had from that duke in the cause—viz. Whether or No a safe residence could not be obtained from him for such as would draw themselves together.¹³⁴

This report is one of the last dated references to the initial phase of

¹³² Letter, Fridwald to Hartlib, 27 April 1633, from Königsberg, SUL H 27.34.10a-b; and 30 April 1633, SUL H 27.34.11a-b.

¹³³ Hartlib did enlist the support of Joseph Webbe (fl. 1612-1633), a language reformer, alchemist and astrologer, for this *collegium*; Webbe was in any case more interested in language acquisitions schemes of his own. See Webbe's letter to Hartlib, 31 August 1628, from London, BL MS, Sloane 1466, fol. 301; ed. Kvačala, I, 7-9. See also Sloane 1466, fol. 377. On Webbe see G. H. Turnbull, *Samuel Hartlib: A Sketch of His Life and His Relations to J. A. Comenius* (London: Oxford UP, 1920), pp. 13-14, 17-18.

¹³⁴ Letter, Dury to Hartlib, 20 August 1636, from Stockholm. I cite a draft from the Hartlib Papers, SUL H 9.1.34b-35a. The original is Bodleian Library MS, Rawlinson C. 911, fol. 287; ed. Kvačala, I, 55-57.

Antilia. As we have seen several times already, the projectors hoped to finance their utopian dreams by commercial ventures or alchemical work. These schemes came to naught but their energy and enthusiasm is remarkable nonetheless. A later comment by Hartlib—who expressed regret for having used the name *Antilia* for a failed effort in 1659 out of respect for this former society, “which I knew was real”—may lend more substantiality to the group than it warrants.¹³⁵ For *Antilia*, certainly the most concretely imagined utopian community of its time, never actually materialized as it had been first conceived. It metamorphosed instead into an epistolary network of reformers with aims similar to those of *Antilia*, the *Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency* (discussed in the next chapter).

The few extant letters from Pömer to Hartlib from the 1630s indicate that such a metamorphosis had taken place. We know that they maintained a regular correspondence, for Hartlib recorded in his journal early in 1634 that he had received books and letters from Pömer via Morsius in Hamburg; however, most of the early letters discussing *Antilia* are missing.¹³⁶ Pömer was also listed as a member of the *correspondency* the project. Other documents found among the Hartlib papers show that Pömer contributed to other intellectual exchanges—for example, on Herbert of Cherbury’s *De veritate* and Campanella’s *Atheismus triumphatus*.¹³⁷ In the Hartlib papers is a 1634 report from Caspar Streso on a Pömer treatise entitled *Didactica Historia*.¹³⁸

Indirectly we know a great deal about Pömer’s activities and intellectual interests through the letters of Joachim Hübner, a fellow German studying at Oxford in 1636, whom Hartlib had enlisted to work in the Bodleian Library on a Comenian cataloguing project.¹³⁹ Hartlib’s first letter to Hübner in Oxford contained a copy

¹³⁵ Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 73.

¹³⁶ *Ephemerides* [1634–1635] SUL H 29.2.12a.

¹³⁷ One manuscript (SUL H 36.4.45a–65b), described as being from the letters of Pömer, is a treatise on atheism influenced by Campanella’s *Atheismus triumphatus*. Since the 1631 Rome edition of this work was sequestered (because of ecclesiastical censure), Pömer probably saw the 1636 Paris edition. The treatise thus dates from after 1636.

¹³⁸ *Ephemerides*, 19 October 1634, SUL H 22.18.5a.

¹³⁹ Born in Cleve, Hübner (1611–1666) entered Leiden to study literature and law on 22 July 1634 with his friend Schletzer, *Leiden*, I, 264. Ernst Fischer, “Die offizielle brandenburgische Geschichtsschreibung zur Zeit Friedrich Wilhelms, des grossen Kurfürsten (1640–1688),” *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 15 (1878):379–87, has his biography only from 1650 onwards. See also Blekastad, pp. 249–55; and

of Andreae's utopian tracts as well as a bundle of Pömer's letters (to Hartlib) on *Antilia*; Hartlib sought news about these projected societies. In mid October 1636, Hübner wrote from Oxford that the *Dextera amoris* pleased him very much, though till then he had never heard of such a *collegium*. Hübner further remarked, whether prompted by Hartlib or not, that Duke August was the only German prince who could have brought this about.¹⁴⁰ In his next letter Hübner wished these projects better success, even though he knew such matters had been stalled due to the war; he expressed interest in working for such goals and praised Pömer as one of the most prominent of those God had spiritually awakened to this work.¹⁴¹

The only surviving letters from Pömer to Hartlib, however, date from 1636-1638. Judging from the lack of references to *Antilia*, the two had by this time shelved any plans for transplantation. It is clear that both Pömer and Hartlib had become enthusiastic promoters of Comenius. At that time, nothing was dearer to Pömer's heart than Comenius's *Delineatio Didacticae*, a sketch of which Hartlib had just sent; he hoped that Comenius would be God's instrument in promoting the public good by repairing the defects in learning through his new method. Pömer was quite concerned though about Comenius's circumstances and implored Hartlib to find a patron in England.

One matter you write about, meanwhile, I suffer for, that the afflicted condition and very harsh chains of sharp penury, by which that one lies constricted with his collaborators, hinders those efforts; I suffer, as I said, and I feel that so vehemently, because I am destitute in those means, by

Klaus Jaitner, "Der Pfalz-Sulzbacher Hof in der europäischen Ideengeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 8 (1988):321-25.

¹⁴⁰ Letter, Hübner to Hartlib, from Oxford, October 1636, BL MS, Sloane 417, fols. 3^v-10^r; ed. Kvačala, I, 61-62. Though only the *Dextera porrecta* was mentioned, the reference to the *collegium* means that Hartlib must have also sent the *Imago*.

¹⁴¹ Letter, Joachim Hübner to Hartlib, 27 October 1636, from Oxford, BL MS, Sloane 417, fols. 10^v-21^r; partially ed. Kvačala, I, 62-63. In a later letter to Hartlib, 10 November 1636, from Oxford, Sloane 417, fols. 21^r-30^v (partially ed. Kvačala, I, 64-67), Hübner commented at length on the proposals in the Pömer letters for the *reformatio saeculi et academiatarum* derived from the Lutheran theologian Georg Calixtus (1586-1656), who advocated the union of all Christian communions based on the *consensus quinquesaecularis*, and the educational reformer Sigismund Evenius (d. 1639). Hübner also indicated that Pömer, in his 27 July 1634 letter, had hoped that an *inventarium* of all things elaborated and still to be elaborated in the arts would be finished, implying that Pömer was influenced by notions of Comenian *pansophia* and educational reform.

which this evil can be healed. And this is also the cause, which hinders the traffic of letters with itself and the communication of my concepts, being a little hesitant in defense of him by empty words or even the inane comforts of encouragements; and whatever much can be gathered from letters is without nourishment for this natural genius, so that content in holding on to the simple truth in forming his concepts he is scornful of evasions and decorations in words. My chief wish therefore in the matter itself is to be able to help such a man immediately: you, if perchance you wish that it be done well, must add effort, for your good will alone is a corpse. Truly this is the status of our concerns for the present, that amidst the daily and nearly infinite evil outpourings of war and in these days, exhausted and enervated by oppressive exactions and depopulations, we struggle to sustain life most painfully; that in itself hinders me, wherefore I dare promise something less than hope or money from here. If our city [Nuremberg] enjoy that golden peace, in which your England abounds and makes use of, neither the means nor the patrons and Evergeta will forsake this man, this cause.¹⁴²

In the two extant letters from 1638, especially in the 25 March letter from Vienna, Pömer renewed this same plea. These letters also show that Pömer was committed to promoting the ideals of the republic of letters by exchanging intellectual news, by seeking new patrons, and by cultivating a network of associates through his travels (including a 1639 visit to Comenius).¹⁴³

Despite the unsuccessful efforts to found *Antilia* in northern Germany, Pömer did continue to pursue the goal of a select brotherhood. To this end he established direct contact with Andreae, to whose utopian schemes and tracts he had been introduced by Hein and Morsius. He wrote from Nuremberg on Good Friday 1636, using their mutual friendship with Hein as an introduction:

How often do I recollect that very pleasant conversation, which occurred not so long ago with that very renowned man, Master Heinrich Hein, Iuris Consultus, so many times did I seem to hear the reports by which that most serene heart [Hein] was accustomed to celebrate your eminent virtues amongst us. But indeed the occasion, which brought you into our conversation so often, whose subject was usually the causes

¹⁴² Letter, Pömer to Hartlib, [from Nuremberg 1636], BL MS, Sloane 649, fols. 33^r-35^r; ed. Kvačala, I, 58-61.

¹⁴³ Letter, Pömer to Hartlib, 4 January 1638, SUL H 59.10.12b-16a (and 36.4.21a-24a); 25 March 1638, from Vienna, SUL H 59.10.5a-9a (and 36.4.1a-4b). Only copies of these letters survive, attesting to the use Hartlib made of Pömer's contacts. Comenius wrote Hartlib, August 1639, from Lissa, Bodleian Library MS, Rawlinson C.911, fol. 637, that he expected Pömer to visit him; ed. Kvačala, I, 139-41.

and remedies of public ills, beyond that genuine love with which that excellent man honored you was that *Dextera porrecta amoris Christiani*, which indeed he, ever desirous of such things, presented repeatedly as a unique and most perfect idea of a Philosophical Society to me, and very kindly invited me to it. Nay rather he urged, whenever I returned to his country and sallied into Württemberger lands, that I personally remember to look on his old friend, Master Johann Valentin Andreae.¹⁴⁴

This first letter, quite polished and elegantly penned, also indicates that Pömer had already established friendships with Saubert and Baier, no doubt through his relation Wolfgang Jacob Pömer: he deftly noted that he could call on such eminent names for flattering letters of commendation if it were necessary to scheme for Andreae's support. Pömer's esteem for Andreae is quite evident in this letter and those that followed; he asked that this introductory letter serve as a *syngrapha* or bond of his affections until he could appear personally.

The eight extant letters from Pömer to Andreae reveal much about their common interest in society-building and of course about *Antilia*.¹⁴⁵ When Andreae's response was delivered belatedly (by Baier), Pömer characterized it "as the long awaited bond of your love" (*velut diu expectata Amoris tui Syngrapha*). Andreae had actually replied fully and immediately to the first letter, but this letter had been "shipwrecked." Contact established, Pömer promised to write about matters of mutual interest, i.e., Christian brotherhoods and Hein.¹⁴⁶

Pömer's third letter, written on 5 October 1640, provides us with his first involved account of the genesis of *Antilia*. In forwarding part of a letter he had gotten from Hein in Livonia, he used the opportunity to tell Andreae about *Antilia*. Because Andreae would recognize the obvious resemblance to his own "Christian-philosophical Society" (and Hein's explanatory letter was included), Pömer did not offer many details. He may have sent a copy of their *leges*.

¹⁴⁴ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, from Nuremberg, 23 March 1636, *Cod. Guelf.* 11. 12. Aug. 2^o, f. 19; partially ed. Kvačala, I, 54-55.

¹⁴⁵ These letters are all in Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11. 12. Aug. 2^o, fols. 19, 22-31; three were also edited by Kvačala. Andreae's letters to Pömer do not survive.

¹⁴⁶ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, Nuremberg, 1 September 1640, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o fol. 31. In his Czech edition of Comenius's *Korrespondence*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1898), II, 65, Kvačala summarizes this letter and implies that *Syngraphon Amoris* is the title of a work sent to Pömer.

And besides truly you have not needed an interpreter in order to understand what the name or institution of *Antilia* means: because easily you will detect that it is not much unlike that depiction of a Christian-philosophical Society, the sort you showed us once in *porrecta Amoris Christiani Dextera* or *Christianopolis*. For that reason I do not undertake to review particularly by which causes or occasions in these matters it first happened or how much sweat meanwhile was poured out in order that somehow *Antilia* might advance into the public view, as we had conceived it mentally: I do not undertake this, on the one hand, because this story was matter not for a letter but a volume; on the other, because truly every such effort thus far has remained only as desired wishes that could not be realized through our skill or industry. And I myself know how much more difficult it is also to sketch a certain idea of the best things, which shows and works out the things themselves, so that the ideas receive the desired effect and end.¹⁴⁷

He alluded to his unsuccessful efforts to secure patronage, complained about backbiting, and ended with a plea for help in freeing Hein from his drudgery in the north so that he could be rejoined with his friends in this matter (*atque amicis in ea suis propius jungi possit*). The matter referred to here most likely was the *Unio Christiana* to which Andreae had provided Pömer the entrée, as is clear from the subsequent letters. Pömer, thus, declared that his ideas for *Antilia* were indebted to Andreae's writings and that he had prepared *non obscura specimina* for the public. With this letter he also began to address himself in his correspondence with Andreae as J. A. Philadelphus, quite possibly a secret name used only among the brotherhood.¹⁴⁸

Even without Andreae's side of the exchange, we can be certain that he expressed strong reservations, for in his next letter Pömer had to defend himself against the charge that the emphasis on eating and leisure time in *Antilia* (using the phrase *sub sagina et otio*) resembled too strongly the degenerate lifestyle of the monastery. He protested that the Antilians had never even considered such absur-

¹⁴⁷ To Andreae, 5 October 1640, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o fol. 29-30; ed. Kvačala, I, 172-73: "Neque vero tibi interprete opus fuerit, quo quid sibi Antiliae appellatio vel institutum velit, intelligas: quod facile deprehendes non multum abluere a delineatione illa Societatis Christiano-philosophicae, qualem in porrecta Amoris Christiani Dextera aut Christianopoli nobis olim exhibuisti."

¹⁴⁸ This name had been associated with Pömer for some time, since Dury incorporated this name in the close of a letter to Pömer, 6/16 December 1633, from London, Sloane 654, fols. 256^{r-v}: "Vale atque omnes Φιλαδελφίας studiosos quibus in hoc genere rebus noster non displicebit in Christo saluta."

dities and hoped that Andreae “would soften that rigid judgment in your last letter”; were Hein around, he would “banish suspicions and scruples of that kind from certain timid friends.”¹⁴⁹ Later that summer he wrote again asking that his letters be examined “with more favorable eyes and without a censorious brow.” In Nuremberg they were not “fattening themselves pleasantly with sterile speculations,” but rather occupied with the public good (here he may have meant the work of ecclesiastical pacification since he enclosed one of Dury’s treatises).¹⁵⁰

Whatever differences these two had seemed to have been resolved, for in November 1641 Pömer thanked Andreae for having arranged his admission to the *Unio Christiana*, a society which he regarded as the *tessera* or secret sign of Andreae’s innermost affections. It is worth noting that Pömer had been back in Nuremberg, a city that he considered home and where his extensive family held numerous positions of authority, for at least five years before he was invited to join through the good offices of Andreae. He had been acquainted with Saubert personally since 1633, when he signed an *Album Amicorum* belonging to the Pömer family;¹⁵¹ and Baier had served as his intermediary. His letter of 7 November, moreover, made clear that his hopes for *Antilia* were far from dashed.

¹⁴⁹ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 12 February 1641, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 11.12 Aug. 2°*, fol. 26: “Neque vero est quod expectes ut ego illa quæ tu proxime contra Antilianos attulisti (quos tantum non castrorum Christi desertores esse vis, quibus etiam metuis ne tandem sub sagina et otio – quod illi scilicet tantopere affectant – monachatus à prima illa sanctaque institutione degenerantis, indolem orbi reflexans quæ omnia à Votis etiam destinatione Antilianorum longissime absunt) nunc excutiam, aut pluribus ostendam, quibus rationibus Heinius noster (nunquam sine laude et bonis recordationib[us]. mihi dicendus) eiusmodi suspiciones et scrupulos amicis quibusdam nimium metulosis exemerit.”

¹⁵⁰ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 13 July 1641, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 11.12 Aug. 2°*, fols. 24–25.

¹⁵¹ Egerton 1540 is a typical Stammbuch or *Album Amicorum* of the early seventeenth century, composed of three separate works in duodecimo, two by Nicolaus Taurellus, *Emblemata Physico-Ethica* (Nuremberg, 1595) and *Carmina Funebria* (Nuremberg, 1592), and *Hymenæus Allorophinæ Academiæ* (Nuremberg, 1600), interleaved with a quantity of blank pages for the autographs. In January 1619, Georg Heinrich Pömer (1601–1625) recorded that he acquired this handsome, if somewhat filled volume. When he died suddenly in Utrecht (11 September 1625), his brother Johann Abraham took possession. Saubert signed on three different occasions. On fol. 2^r he wrote: “Scripsi amica manu M. Joh. Saubertus, Nobilissimæ Familiæ Pömerianæ, et in hac Dn. Dn. Joh. Abrahamo, Wolfgango Sebastiano, et Friderico, F.F.G.G. addictiss. A° 1633.”

For to this assembly you commissioned me, unless I am mistaken, with that most laudable pair [Saubert and Baier], so that, excited by such an honorable comparison, I would struggle towards those excellent things more and more each day in honest emulation, and I might strive to surpass those who left me already many leagues behind in this course of piety, by more powerful running thither, to which I was admitted too late there, even if such a thing could happen. Because if I were allowed to attain that fruit from this Christian Union, which our Antilia certainly seemed to promise to us, and by whose longing for Antilia these efforts chiefly were raised, even I would seem blessed beyond my wishes, who found myself at home in your care, because through various events through so many crises (as I say with the poet but in earnest) by crawling about many provinces of Europe for some time, I discovered nothing at all: would that I had two hours to discuss this with you, for there are many things that can scarcely be communicated so commodiously or clearly through letters. . . . But let this suffice as an introduction to the solitary life, and at the same time to have touched on the Antilian plans of our Hein, especially before you, a man of the same desires with us, for which I confess that I still so long. . . .¹⁵²

This letter is an important source of information. It confirms, first of all, that the Nuremberg society was still active in 1641 and that Andreae had some role in it; thus, when he journeyed there the following year, he would have been hailed more as a founding member of an on-going association than simply as an old friend. Second, Pömer acknowledged that the aim (*scopum hunc ut Antiliae nostrae germanum et primarium*) was a communal society not unlike a monastery (*sine aliis regulis et legibus, quae monachatus incunabula fuisse*). In fact he expended considerable energy in justifying a fraternal bond based on discipline (*Vinculum illud et nervum, primumque et p[ri]ncipuum officium mutuae charitatis, admonitionem sc. fraternam*):

Because you write that you will not otherwise hinder us from uniting and adapting our lives to the example of Christ without other rules and laws, which the monks had in their infancy, and so forth, I acknowledge fully this aim as the germinal and primary one of our Antilia. But you meanwhile will see that the remoras and those obstacles hide themselves, which in this Babylonian captivity and confusion are cast in the way of such a praiseworthy end. . . . Certainly no one, even the best and those who suffer quite vehemently, will deny that nearly all discipline furnished as the one binding key for our churches is just a postscript (at least by the tacit consensus of men) and that in its place Samaritanism

¹⁵² Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 7 November 1641, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2° fol. 28^v-27^r; partially ed. Kvačala, I, 180-82.

has succeeded, truly an Epicureanism, flattering with that specious pall of evangelical liberty. . . . Those more prudent men, who are most loving in Christ, wish that ecclesiastical discipline (and that bond and sinew, the first principle and the duty of mutual love, namely fraternal admonition), exiled alas for an exceedingly long time and trampled underfoot, be returned and restored to its pristine authority by the right of recovery [i.e., *postliminium*].¹⁵³

From the Fridwald-Hartlib correspondence, we know that Ruhnu Island had once been secured for such a community, an arrangement that departs significantly from the essentially epistolary union Andreae described in the *Imago*. (This letter helps to confirm that the *Leges Societatis Christianae* found in the Hartlib papers, with their emphasis on communal living, were indeed the *Leges Antiliae*.) Finally, Pömer's 7 November 1641 letter revealed his continuing plans for his own society. Plainly he has already cleared them with Andreae: "Because you write that you will not otherwise hinder us . . . I acknowledge fully this aim as the germinal and primary one of our Antilia." This "aim" must refer to *Antilia* rediviva, since it is scarcely possible that the orthodox Saubert would have embraced something approaching monasticism in the *Unio Christiana*, especially from a novice member.¹⁵⁴

If Andreae had been troubled by the monastic undercurrents, the warmth of their last few letters indicates that waters had been calmed.¹⁵⁵ Pömer wrote no more about the results of these later

¹⁵³ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 7 November 1641, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 11.12 Aug. 2°* fol. 28^r-27^v.

¹⁵⁴ These two letters shed light on the confusion over an "Antilia" in Nuremberg. In his 26 March 1645 letter to Duke August, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 65.1 Extrav. 214*, Andreae remarked: "wie auch einer anderen gesellschaft zu Nürnberg, Antilia genandt, dahin ich hiebevör Meine Unionem Christianam gerichtet, Aber niemahlen zu einer recht-schaffenen Verfassung gelangen mögen." I take *dahin* to refer spatially to Nuremberg. Nowhere else did Andreae link the *Unio Christiana* with *Antilia*; indeed, Pömer's responses to Andreae's requests for details about *Antilia* prove that Andreae knew very little about this brotherhood. Since neither Pömer's (especially those edited by Kvačala) nor Andreae's letters stated explicitly where it had been located, later readers have just confused the names and movements, e.g., Purver, p. 224.

¹⁵⁵ In his penultimate letter, Pömer to Andreae, 30 June 1642, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 11.12 Aug. 2°* fol. 23, he stated he would have written more frequently, had he the leisure or had he feared their friendship was built on such a debilitated foundation that it needed constant shoring. The last letter, Pömer to Andreae, 6 March 1643, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf. 11.12 Aug. 2°* fol. 22, was a very moving account of Pömer's grief over the death of his sister (and the memory of the untimely death of his young wife in childbirth) and his appreciation of Andreae's sympathies.

efforts, and Andreae was directing his gaze towards the court of Duke August at Lüneburg. The brotherhoods with which both were associated lacked formal structures or definite obligations; rather, they were held together by charismatic personalities, spiritual bonds, and the common desire to disseminate the work of Christ in the heart of the believer, i.e., to foster Arndt's practical Christianity. Hein likewise devoted his later years to just such an *Arndianum collegam et chemiae* at Dorpat.

Pömer did at last join a circle that apparently satisfied his spiritual and psycho-social needs for community at the enlightened court of Duke Christian August (1622-1708) of Sulzbach, who was aware of the union activities of such activists as Dury and Comenius.¹⁵⁶ Pömer was away from Nuremberg from 1651-1653 on diplomatic missions to Vienna, Prague, and Regensburg. He converted to Catholicism in 1655 (as did Christian August) and later that year went to Rome with the intention of becoming a priest. According to Will, he decided to accept a position as privy councillor and fiscal *inspector* in nearby Sulzbach after a controversy with a Nuremberg minister, Johann Fabricius, who directed "Responsiones adversus praeiudicia nonnulla I. A. P. illustri Dnn. Scholarcharum Ordini exhibitae" against him. If Will is correct, Pömer must have remained in Nuremberg until 1655, since the subtitle of Fabricius's diatibe indicated that Pömer had already converted.¹⁵⁷ The *Musenhof* of Christian August was dedicated to late humanistic culture and tolerance of confessional differences.¹⁵⁸ The duchy was formally made interdenominational through a *Simultaneum* following the 1650 Nuremberger Friedenskonvent, whereby Catholics and Protestants shared the same church. Sulzbach thereafter became an enclave for Jews and pietists as well as poets, scholars, and scientists, who gathered to pursue their interests in literature, music, natural science, alchemy, mysticism, ca-

¹⁵⁶ Blekasted, p. 279.

¹⁵⁷ The subtitle to this unpublished manuscript is: "post colloquium cum viro illo generosissimo, qui ad Pontificios deinde transit, habitum" (Will, I, 380-84 and III, 211). Fabricius (1610-1676) had been professor of theology at Altdorf (1644-1649) and was minister at the Marienkirche; see Zeltner, pp. 285-303.

¹⁵⁸ See Klaus Jaitner, "Der Pfalz-Sulzbacher Hof in der europäischen Ideengeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 8 (1988):273-394; and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, *Dichter und Gelehrter am Sulzbacher Musenhof: Festschrift zur 300. Wiederkehr des Todestages*, ed. Literaturarchiv and the City of Sulzbach-Rosenberg (Sulzbach-Rosenberg: Amberger Zeitung, 1989).

bala, and Hebraic studies. Such luminaries as Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont (1614-1699) and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636-1689), who had an international reputation and corresponded with Henry More and Sir Thomas Browne, flourished there. Pömer was active in translating hagiographies and other devotional works and spent his last years in this *collegium pansophicum*.¹⁵⁹

D. Morsius and the Dissemination of Andreae's Utopianism

The final act in the movement to establish in Germany a utopian brotherhood inspired by Andreae's writings was staged by Joachim Morsius (1593-1644), whose life crossed his in quite interesting ways. First, unlike most of the intellectuals discussed above, Morsius published a response to the *Fama*, which indicates he believed in the existence of an Rosicrucian actual brotherhood. As a restless seeker and enthusiast in his youth, he exemplified well-defined aspects of the seventeenth-century *Zeitgeist*. Second, he was clearly active with Hein in the *Antilia* project. Third, he tried to revive a society based on the model of Andreae's utopian tracts with the aid of Andreae and Duke August. Finally, his own constellation of interests illustrates the potential for theosophy or mystical Christianity inherent in some of these societies.

Morsius was born in Hamburg to a wealthy family of master goldsmiths. While his brothers carried on the family business, he was provided with a splendid education; after private tutoring, he began his studies at Rostock under Jungius, then Leiden, Jena, and Leipzig.¹⁶⁰ His learning was sufficiently respected that he was offered the post of librarian in 1615 at the newly founded university

¹⁵⁹ In his *testamentum* Pömer left his books and manuscripts to the care of Christian August, with the request to publish any deemed worthy (Will, III, 211). Included were "Leben des H. und recht apostolischen Erzbischoffs von Bracara, *Barthol. de Martyribus*; Leben des grossen Dieners Gottes, Vincenz *de Paulo*, ersten Generals der Misions=Priester; Leben des seel. Herrn Baron *de Renty*, den sein *historicus ideam perfecti christiani* nennt." None of these manuscripts was published, nor are they extant in the catalogues of the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, where the Sulzbacher library eventually passed.

¹⁶⁰ Ioachim Moers Hamburgensis matriculated in April 1610, *Rostock*, II, 299; he went to Leiden, entering on 31 August 1611 as a student of letters, and then again as "Polymathiae Stud." on 31 December 1618, *Leiden*, I, 102, 138; he also studied at Jena and Leipzig (1613).

library. But he did not stay long in Rostock during these exciting times, preferring instead to travel among the learned.¹⁶¹ He spent 1618 in Holland and the following year in England. There he met Ben Jonson, William Camden, John Owen, John Richardson, Robert Fludd, among others, and was created M.A. at Cambridge in 1619.

Morsius's early travels coincided with the Rosicrucian furor in Germany, and he soon plunged into this controversy. He was believed to have written an anonymous letter in 1616 to the theological faculty at Rostock inviting them to meet with the Rosicrucians. In the next year, styling himself a cosmopolite and using the pseudonym Anastasius Philaretus Cosmopolita, he published *Epistola sapientissimae F[raternitati] R[oseae] C[rucis] remissa* (Philadelphia, 1617). He claimed to have steeped himself in the Rosicrucians' writings for over a year because he was in great inner turmoil and bereft of human help; as a result, he was finally turned from his foggy path of errors towards the shining path of truth.¹⁶² An answer from "C. R. E." was quickly forthcoming on 3 September 1617, *Theosophi eximi epistola ad Anastasium Philaretum cosmopolitam de sapientissima fraternitate R. C. ex musaeo meo*. Peuckert suggests that his travels throughout Germany, Holland, and England, beginning in 1618, were to find the fraternity. There may be some truth to this for we know that afterwards he edited a number of alchemical and theological tracts he had discovered in his travels, notably by the Dutchman Cornelius Drebbel (d. 1643), whom he met in London in 1619, and Heinrich Nollus (1590-1630). In fact, Morsius dedicated both Drebbel editions to Nollus.¹⁶³ Through his friend Elver, he learned of Jungius's society and may have become a member.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Biographical details are taken from Nicolaus Wilckens, *Leben der berühmten Lindenbrogiorum, nebst einer Nachricht vom Leben Geverharti Elmenhorstii, Joachimi Moersii, Heliae Ptschii, und Cornelii Dalii* (Hamburg, 1723), pp. 72-81; Rudolf Kayser, "Joachim Morsius," *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* 6 (1897):307-19; Heinrich Schneider, *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis: zur Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: Quitzow, 1929); and Eckardt Opitz, "Joachim Morsius," in *Biographisches Lexikon für Schleswig-Holstein und Lübeck* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1982), VI, 190-94.

¹⁶² Schneider, pp. 29-33.

¹⁶³ Peuckert, p. 207. Schneider, pp. 75-77, provides a bibliography of his editions.

¹⁶⁴ Schneider, p. 36, asserts that "Gern wäre auch Joachim Morsius Mitglied dieser Gesellschaft geworden"; however, there is no clear evidence. Aside from the fact that he knew many of the principals, we have only an oblique reference in the 1643 letter to Jungius (Avé-Lallemant, p. 345): "De Lynceis olim ex Fabio Columna excerpta nonnulla per Dn. Senatorem Lubecensem Leonhardum Elverum oculissimo nostro

In 1626 his most important printed work appeared, *Nuncius Olympicus*, a catalogue of two hundred and twenty-eight manuscripts on natural philosophy, chemistry, medicine, and magic, again under the name Anastasius Philaretus Cosmopolita.

In addition to his interest in alchemy, Morsius also pursued other paths to spiritual enhancement. In 1624 he was introduced to the writings of Jakob Böhme (1575-1624) through Balthasar Walther, himself a speculative alchemist and pansophist, who had travelled through Syria and Egypt searching for esoteric wisdom and who had convinced Morsius that Böhme alone understood the riddle of the Rosicrucians. Responding to a request from Morsius for enlightenment, Böhme praised him in a 20 April 1624 letter as a “hungry, keen, eager seeker and lover of the truth” who should study his own writings, copies of which were enclosed.¹⁶⁵

Morsius journeyed south in 1629-1630, beginning with a visit to Duke August on 30 January 1629, who provided him with a letter of introduction. He may also have met Nollius who had founded a brotherhood for restoring hermetic philosophy and medicine, *Fraternitatis Rotae Caelestis*. Especially significant for our purposes here, Morsius went to the *fons et origo* to meet personally with Andreae at Calw. What we know of this 1629 meeting derives from Morsius’s 1643 letter to Jungius accompanying some of Hein’s disputations.¹⁶⁶ On Hein’s behalf, Morsius asked whether Tassius possessed,

tertiam partem Dextræ amoris porrectæ & imaginis Societatis Evangelicæ, Themidem videlicet auream de legibus illius societatis, und leges Antilianas bestitit; oder andre particularia de istâ societate ac sociis.¹⁶⁷

In Morsius’s formulation, Andreae’s two utopian tracts, the *Imago* and *Dextera porrecta* had a third part, the *Themis aurea, hoc est, de legibus*

praefato Tassio misi.” Fabio Colonna’s *della Sambuca Lincea* (Naples, 1618) was a tract on musical tonality, so-named because he was a member of the *Accademia dei Lincei*. Whether Morsius was also making a punning reference to their former society is a speculation.

¹⁶⁵ Schneider, pp. 37-42, discusses this association and edits the letter; Peuckert, p. 208, asserts Böhme and Morsius tried to found a pansophical fraternity together.

¹⁶⁶ Letter, Morsius to Jungius, from Schleswig, 26 August 1643, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, fols. 19-22; ed. Avé-Lallemant, pp. 342-46, Guhrauer, pp. 232-35, and Schneider, pp. 57-62.

¹⁶⁷ Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, fol. 19^v.

fraternitatis R. C. (1618) of the alchemist Michael Maier (1568-1622), which Morsius regarded, wrongly, as the laws of Andreae's society. He and Hein, furthermore, wanted any other particulars about the short-lived *Civitas Solis* or *Societas Christiana*. Morsius reported having expended all his money, goods, and secret collections for this most laudable design and regretted his patrimony had not allowed him to do more. As a result of his peregrinations, he claimed that he had made many friendships with those similarly devoted to such a society.¹⁶⁸

Specifically, Morsius told Jungius that Andreae had given him twelve copies of the tracts when he was at Calw in 1629, and sent them to prominent men—obviously with the intention of promoting a *Societas Christiana*: Duke August;¹⁶⁹ Moritz, landgrave of Hessen-Kassel (1572-1632), whom Morsius had to dissuade from publishing a German translation of the tracts since they lacked Andreae's consent;¹⁷⁰ Frederick of Norway, duke of Holstein-Gottorf (1597-1659); Ludwig, prince of Anhalt-Köthen (1579-1650), founder of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*; Holger Rosenkrantz (1574-1642), Danish imperial councillor and scholar; Johann Salvius (1590-1652), Swedish secretary of state; Heinrich von Qualen, diplomat; Laurentius Grammendorf, councillor for the city of Berlin and an enthusiast; Wendelin Sybellista (1597-1677), physician to the grand duke of Moscow and an alchemist; Johann Morian (d. after 1659), a minister then living at Hanau who worked with Dury;¹⁷¹ Johann Jacob Pömer (1614-1669), Nuremberg patrician and statesman;¹⁷² and

¹⁶⁸ Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, fol. 19^v: "ich habe in meinen peregrinationibus mit viel fůrtrefflichen leuten freundschaft gemacht, und allerhandt subsidia zu besten einer solcher gesellschaftt votiert."

¹⁶⁹ Biographical details are taken from Blekastad's *Namenregister*, pp. 831-74.

¹⁷⁰ Moritz's court in Kassel was a flourishing center for alchemy and Paracelsian medicine, at which many notable occultists, e.g., Nollus and Maier, were living. See Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1527-1632)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991).

¹⁷¹ Morian later lived at Amsterdam where he was connected with Comenius. He was also an alchemist whom Morsius called *püssimus chemicus* and identified as *Patricius Noribergensis* (though he is not listed in Biedermann's *Geschlechtsregister*).

¹⁷² Though often identified as Johann Abraham Pömer—e.g., by Blekastad, p. 151, and van Dülmen, *Die Utopie*, p. 154—whom Morsius knew through Hein, Johann Jacob must have been the recipient of the tracts. Morsius did not use his Christian name, identifying him as "Pömerus, qui Parentationem in Schwenterii obitum professoris Altorphiensis conscripsit." While still a student Johann Jacob wrote the memorial address for Daniel Schwenter, published as *Vita Periodus Viri Clarissimi & Excellentissimi Dn. M. Danielis Schwenterii* (Altdorf, 1636).

Georg Brasch (1599-1661), pastor of the Johanneskirche in Lüneburg. Morsius claimed that were other noble, excellent and devoted men allowed to read these exemplaria, they would approve this proposal with a unanimous voice and heart.

Armed with copies of Andreae's tracts, Morsius began to pursue his plans for a society modeled after the *Imago* (without any significant help from Andreae) on his journey home in 1629-1630.¹⁷³ We can fortunately reconstruct the course of his travels through his *Stammbuch*, the "Album Academicum et Apodemicum." Begun in 1610, it contains 779 autographs with short dedications, letters or poems and gives fascinating insight to his intellectual range or "circle" broadly conceived.¹⁷⁴ After his visit to Calw (sadly, Andreae did not sign and date the album), he was at Nuremberg on 27 November 1629, and Strasbourg in January and February 1630, where he met with another confidant of Andreae, Matthias Bernegger (1582-1640), an Austrian exile who was professor of mathematics, history and oriental languages. He was in Frankfurt in March 1630, Amsterdam in late April 1630, and in northern Germany by the summer (Hamburg on 21 Aug 1630), where he took up residence.¹⁷⁵

At this point, personal difficulties coupled with the public's distrust of secret societies began to constrain his plans. In Hamburg he was brought before the council for disorderly living, abandonment of his wife, and failure to repay debts to family members; so, he moved to Lübeck in early 1633, but was subsequently implicated in a legal action against a group of religious enthusiasts who had established a conventicle at Mölln (near the grave of Til Eulenspiegel). According to the 1633 Senatsakten in the Lübecker Staatsarchiv, following the publication of Paul Felgenhauer's Rosicrucian book, *Das Geheimnis vom Tempel des Herrn* (1632), a num-

¹⁷³ In a letter, 26 June 1632, from Strasbourg, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 4° 32, fol. 63, Matthias Bernegger told Morsius not to expect help from Valentin Andreae who had not once joined in their discussions about this project.

¹⁷⁴ The four volume Album was at the Lübeck Stadtbibliothek, but was lost during the Second World War, according to Opitz, p. 193. Fortunately, Schneider, pp. 79-109, provides an index of those who signed the album with the date and biographical information. See also Kayser, p. 310.

¹⁷⁵ His travels continued: that winter he journeyed south again to Strasbourg (29 November 1630); Nuremberg (18 February 1631); and Lüneburg in March, April, and May 1631. In the autumn of 1631 he was in Strasbourg again (17 September 1631); Amsterdam (2 April 1632); Copenhagen (October 1632); and throughout northern Germany.

ber of individuals were charged with spreading "schwermerische Irrthümer." Among them were Elver and Morsius, who was singled out for having trafficked in magical and fantastical books and having associated with "Enthusiasten" suspected of spreading anti-church propaganda and establishing a conventicle.¹⁷⁶ One such was Brasch, who had received a copy of Andreae's tract from Morsius; Brasch was apparently much influenced by Arndt, whom he considered a new prophet.¹⁷⁷ Consequently Morsius had to leave Lübeck and was confined in a mental institution (1636-1640), following disputes with his family, until King Christian of Denmark intervened.¹⁷⁸ He spent the last few years of his life in Schleswig under the patronage of Duke Friedrich of Holstein-Gottorf, whom he had met personally in 1633 and who was interested in founding a union of the kind Andreae planned; he had attracted a number of experimental alchemists to his court, among them Jungius's old friend Bussius of Wolfenbüttel.¹⁷⁹

These hardships plainly inhibited Morsius's efforts. His letter to Jungius from Gottorf in 1643 (quoted above) demonstrates that he and Hein were still interested in a Christian learned society based explicitly on the *Imago*, but Morsius died soon thereafter (in early 1644) and Jungius chose not to answer.¹⁸⁰ This letter, nonetheless, documents the vitality of Andreae's ideas, as Morsius assured Jungius: "I have in my peregrinations made friends with many excellent people, who promised all sorts of subsidies for such a society." Also of interest is the fact that Morsius, Jungius, and Tassius all had the *leges* of the *Fraternitatis Rotae Caelestis*, Nollius's society for the restoration of hermetic philosophy and medicine.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ The proceedings of the Lübecker Ecclesiastical Ministerium, Vol. III, Fasc. 7, 11 ff.; cited in Schneider, p. 53: "So haben wir Nachricht, Morsius gestehe ungeschewet, dass er zwar zur Predigt komme, möge aber vbel vertragen, wann von der neuen Propheten Lehr etwan meldung gethan werde: aus welchem (unsers eractens) folget: hatte Morsius an der Fanaticorum Hendeln keine beliebung und wolgefallen, so könnte er eben sowol leiden, dass die neue Propheten, als die Papisten und andere Secten, gestraffet werden."

¹⁷⁷ Kayser, p. 317.

¹⁷⁸ Kayser, p. 318; Schneider, p. 70.

¹⁷⁹ Kayser, p. 318; Opitz, p. 192.

¹⁸⁰ Peuckert, p. 212, says Jungius did not answer out of fear of being thrown back into controversy again.

¹⁸¹ Letter, Morsius to Jungius, from Schleswig, 26 August 1643, Hamburg MS, *Sup. ep.* 98, fols. 19-22: "cujus leges apud me sunt, quas puto Excell. tuam & optimum Dn. Tassium nostrum vidisse."

At the last, Morsius asked to be remembered to his worthy friends in Germany and Britain, especially Andreae, Dury, and Hartlib.¹⁸² This remark reminds us of the indebtedness of many utopianists to Andreae and the web of relatedness between them throughout Protestant Europe. Despite the conditions created by the war and the anonymous publication of Andreae's work, a number of German utopian brotherhoods were inspired by his utopian writings: notably the *Unio Christiana*, active in Nuremberg from 1628-1640s, founded by a former member of Andreae's *Societas Christiana*, and later revived in Württemberg c. 1660s-1680s; *Antilia*, which flourished in the 1620s at Rostock and then again in the 1650s; and finally the Christian society Morsius hoped to form using Andreae's tracts as a model. All told, Andreae's utopian writings had considerable influence in the seventeenth century in Germany, as we have seen, and elsewhere as the next chapter shall demonstrate.

¹⁸² In early 1634 Hartlib recorded in his *Ephemerides* that he received books and letters from Pömer via Morsius in Hamburg, SUL H 29.2.12a.

CHAPTER FIVE

SAMUEL HARTLIB AND THE UTOPIAN MOVEMENT

Thence to visite honest & learned Mr. *Hartlib*, a Publique Spirited, and ingeni[o]us person, who had propagated many Usefull things & Arts: . . . He tolde me of an Inke that would give a dozen Copies, moist Sheetes of Paper being pressed on it, & remaine perfect; & a receipt how to take off any Print, without injury to the original in the least: This Gent: was Master of innumerable Curiosities, & very communicative.

Evelyn, *Diary* (27 November 1655)

Wherever Hartlib's utopian zeal originated – his early contact with reformers and utopianists in Germany or at Emmanuel College, Cambridge – he devoted his considerable energies to utopian enterprises for the better part of his life. He should be credited with introducing continental utopianism to England through his efforts on behalf of Comenius during the Civil War. Since Comenius was directly influenced by Andreae's writings and idealism, the main current runs directly from Andreae, through Comenius, to Hartlib in London. Hartlib's utopianism impelled him to an extraordinary range of projects. His many schemes to enrich the land through the better cultivation of fruit trees or bee keeping, for example, clearly issued from the same benevolent wellspring as his projects for the social or spiritual amelioration of society.¹ His many projects have been treated elsewhere.² Instead, this chapter will focus on the uto-

¹ For a good survey of Hartlib's accomplishments, see Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor, ed., *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1992); and *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994).

² The best account of the Hartlib circle remains Turnbull's *HDC*, along with his earlier *Samuel Hartlib: A Sketch of His Life and His Relations to J. A. Comenius* (London: Oxford UP, 1920). Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1961), pp. 148–57, has a brief account of the Hartlib circle; as does Nell P. Eurich, *Science in Utopia: A Mighty Design* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967), pp. 147–54. See also H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Three Foreigners," in *Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 237–93.

pian societies Hartlib labored so resolutely to establish, a story that has not been adequately told.

The central figure in the story of these utopian brotherhoods in England, Samuel Hartlib, was born in Polish Prussia at Elbing about 1600. His father, a Polish merchant of German extraction, married the daughter of an Englishman with the Fellowship of Eastland Merchants, who had been granted the privilege of trading at Elbing by the Polish king in 1580. The details of his early life are largely unknown. His older brother Georg studied at the Gymnasium in Danzig and at Heidelberg;³ the name Samuel Hartlib, curiously enough, does not appear on the matriculation list of any major university. Based on clues from his letters, Turnbull argues that he studied until 1621 at the Gymnasium at Brieg, a well-known center of Protestantism in Silesia, then at Cambridge from 1621 to 1626, where he may have read law.⁴ Though all his early education at Brieg would have been in German and Latin, he was probably raised bi-lingually amidst the small English community on the Baltic. When he began recording noteworthy events in his *Ephemerides* in 1634, he wrote mostly in English (with occasional passages in Latin).

At the time Hartlib first came to England, Cambridge was at its height as a center for English Puritanism. The leaders of what William Haller has called the "Spiritual Brotherhood" were all in residence: Richard Sibbes, master at St Catharine's Hall (1626-1635); John Preston, master of Emmanuel (1622-1628); and Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ's College (1613-1638), one of Hartlib's early correspondents and a supporter of Bacon.⁵ This generation of Puritan scholars certainly would have inspired him, perhaps Preston most of all, though Hartlib's sails were also filled by continental winds.

³ Georg Hartlieb matriculated at Danzig in April 1608, *Danzig*, p. 79; and as a theology student at Heidelberg, 14 September 1612, *Heidelberg*, II, 261.

⁴ Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 11-15, 34. If he were at Brieg for a normal course of study (five to six years), he would have been a classmate of Abraham von Frankenberg (1593-1652), the Silesian alchemist and patron of Jakob Böhme, who was at Brieg from 17 October 1611, according to K. F. Schönwälder and J. J. Guttman, *Geschichte des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg* (Breslau, 1869), p. 89. No full matriculation list exists for Brieg; Hartlib was not mentioned in this history.

⁵ William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia UP, 1938), pp. 49-82; see also Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 32-47.

After his probable stay at Cambridge, Hartlib returned briefly to the Baltic in 1627 (where he became involved with *Antilia*), before resettling in London in the spring of 1628. The impetus to return came not only from conditions in Prussia but from the desire to help bring about the kingdom of God in England where millenarian expectations ran high. As a prelude to the second coming, prophecy called for a *great instauration*, in Bacon's words, a time when the prophecy of Daniel 12:4 about the restoration of Adamic knowledge would be fulfilled and mastery over nature regained: "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, *even* to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." Hartlib encouraged others to read the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and in a 1641 letter declared, "mee thinkes the tyme drawes neare that this Great desideratum all soe shall bee fulfilled for some noble ende w^{ch} God's providence aymes at."⁶ He helped establish two schools, John Pell and William Speed's "little Academy" at Chichester⁷ and Sir Francis Kynaston's *Musæum Minervæ*.⁸ Another of Hartlib's tasks was to succor exiled scholars and ministers from the continent, especially Calvinists from the Palatinate, often at his own expense.⁹

Personally, he was altruistic and sacrificed himself for the good of others. He was optimistic and generous toward those laboring in the same vineyard. In all his many enterprises, he never sought to gain financially or take credit—only to serve the cause he believed in most, the peace and prosperity of the Christian commonwealth. This chapter will first set forth Hartlib's efforts to foster the utopian

⁶ Letter, Hartlib to John Robartes and Sir William Waller, 20 February 1641, SUL H 7.43.1a; quoted by Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 42. See Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

⁷ Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 17–18, 22. Hartlib apparently was to have only a supervisory role, but he leased a house from August to November 1630. When the supply of noble pupils promised by supporters did not materialize, he went into debt and moved to London, living at Dukes Place, Charing Cross.

⁸ Charles I issued a royal patent and granted one hundred pounds to this academy for young gentlemen set up in Bedford Street, Covent Garden. Apparently money was problem, for Hartlib noted, *Ephemerides* (1635), SUL H, 29.3.35b, that Kynaston is "somew^t slandered bec[ause] hee makes collection for the Proffessors] of his Acad. wth a bason." He also wrote that "I subscribed my Name the 8. of Octob. 1635 and so became a Member of it by w^{ch} meanes I am capable of many of their priviledges" (SUL H, 29.3.47b).

⁹ Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 23–24, 34–35. As early as 1631, monies were sent to Comenius and the Bohemian exiles at Leszno.

movement in England through the *Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency*. In some ways, this society was a continuation of the *Antilian* project, though adapted from the model for an epistolary society that Andreae outlined in the *Imago*. Next, Hartlib's attempt to shape directly a utopian course for England by bringing Comenius to England just before the Civil War will be examined, in conjunction with the two utopian works produced by this initiative, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* and *Via Lucis*. Finally, we shall look at his efforts to promote utopianism by having Andreae's utopian writings translated and disseminated broadly. (The fruits of these labors will be the subject of chapter six.)

A. Hartlib's Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency

From the time of his return to England till 1633, Hartlib pursued patronage and opportunities in the Americas for the Antilians, as previously discussed. The following year he began his first recorded effort towards establishing an international spiritual brotherhood that involved many of the members of *Antilia*, which he called the *Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency*. What we know of this particular effort derives from a manuscript in the British Library, Sloane 653, a quarto volume with 176 leaves, described in the unpublished Sloane catalogue as the "Common Place Book or Adversaria of John Dury, chiefly designed to point out the Desiderata in Theology." It is better described, however, as a joint commonplace book of Dury and Hartlib. While no records of the provenance of this manuscript exist, traces of its past can still be read in it. Some of the entries are clearly in Dury's hand, but most are in Hartlib's, whose usual practice was to keep his journals in quarto gatherings that were numbered consecutively. (Virtually all of the 25,000 pages of the Hartlib papers at the University of Sheffield Library are unbound.) Since some of the Sloane 653 gatherings differ in size, number of sheets, and quality of paper, Dury and Hartlib's notes were evidently bound together and a misleading title fly supplied.¹⁰

¹⁰ BL MS, Sloane 638 is a quarto volume with 128 leaves, described on the title fly as "Jo: Dury. Desiderata in Logica, Ethica & Politic., Physica, Mathematic., Musica, Theologia, Index Desideratum." This title fly is, however, only a single sheet, and while some of the signatures are Dury's work, most of them are Hartlib's. The unpublished

These notes can be dated from the early 1630s, probably between 1630 and 1634.¹¹

Much can be discovered about Hartlib's intentions from the various reformulations of the basic concept found in Sloane 653 and from the list of those he hoped to involve as associates in this network. The *Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency* was conceived of as a mechanism for promoting two major projects: ecclesiastical peace on the continent and the advancement of learning. The *reformatores* were divines or scholars working towards a reconciliation among Protestant churches (especially between Lutherans and Calvinists) plagued, in their view, by unnecessary controversy. The two projects were correlative in that the "advancement of learning" meant specifically an increased understanding about the differences separating the various confessions. Hence the English group, by gathering scholarly materials and by compiling directories and catalogues, was to be instrumental in effecting a solution. The model was adapted from the loose epistolary society outlined in the *Imago*. Judging by the list of items to be sent to his brother Georg and another projected participant, we know Hartlib was disseminating Andreae's writings by 1634. The first three items were: "1. Dextra Amoris Christianj. 2. Leges Societatis cum Duræi censura. 3. Confessio ibidem."¹² The first item listed is Andreae's influential utopian tract. The second, for reasons given in chapter four, most likely refers to the *Leges Antiliæ* and Dury's commentary on them, copies of which are in the Hartlib papers. The third item, however, raises the possibility that Hartlib was circulating copies of the Rosicrucian manifesto known as the *Confessio*; however, it may be that the Antilians also had a *confessio*, though no manuscript bearing this name is known. In any case, while Andreae was not mentioned by name, his ideas had clearly taken root in the fertile fields of England.

Sloane catalogue cross references MSS 638 and 653, the former no doubt having been used to establish attribution for the latter.

¹¹ The correspondence in 1631 between William Speed, Dury and Hartlib (SUL H 46.6.2-35) establishes one terminus. Two entries from the Sloane 653 can also be dated: some notes on Streso's *Didactica Concionum* (fol. 59^r) were entered 31 August 1634 and a short report on two English preachers who had written to the emperor (fol. 68^r), was dated 7 September 1634. In addition, fol. 130^r was written on the back of a 8 September 1631 receipt made out to Hartlib of a contribution from Mary Gosse for £8.

¹² BL MS, Sloane 653, fol. 135^r.

We have several outlines of this plan from Hartlib, who was an inveterate schemer (though also an activist who would live to see some of the pieces of his grandiose scheme implemented). Perhaps the clearest statement of intent was a list of ninety-nine “*Desiderata Universalia*” (fol. 105^r-106^v) that began:

1. Pax Ecc[lesi]æ.
2. A Traffique for Religion et Learning.
3. Societas Germaniæ S[ocietas]: Reformat[orum]
4. Societas Angliæ φ[philosophiæ ?]
Et aliæ Particulares.

Apparently, he foresaw the prime contribution of the German associates as religious reformers, while the English would have served as mediators and communicators. In one draft he implied that the purpose of the *Societas Angliæ* was “Traffique of Religion et Learning” (fol. 109^r). Still another version used a phrase reminiscent of Andreae, *Societas Christiana Uni[ver]salis* (fol. 113^v) to designate the society itself and gave as its general function “Correspondencies et Ingencies [neologism, from *ingenium*] of Ch[ristian] State of Learning”; elsewhere, it was called “A Platforme of a Religious Learned et Political Correspondency” (fol. 115^v). At about this time, we know that Hartlib began to catalogue information, and so his note – “Wee have begun to make an Universal Catalogue of choice Bookes. MS. Inventions and all Eminent Men in England” (fol. 136^v) – can be considered evidence that he was taking firm steps towards fulfilling the plan for the English branch’s “Learned Correspondency.” Indeed, among the ninety-nine *Desiderata Universalia*, he recognized the need for judges, critics, scribes and secretaries to gather and disseminate information.¹³

Certain characteristics of this society are also discernible. First of all, it was to be open to men of all classes. In a memorandum advising Dury about efforts for peace and unification on the continent, Hartlib urged him:

1. To Speake for Scollars[,] Little and Great Ones.
to Herr Koy. Fridwald. Mochinger. Cimmermann. etc. etc.

¹³ He wished for: “Visitatores. Censores et Criticj. . . . Amanuenses. . . . Secretarii S. Stylistæ Heroicj” (Sloane 653, fol. 105^r).

2. To acquaint men wth my Intentions and really to settle and keep from time to time a Constant Correspondency for the Advancement of Religion and All Kinde of Learning. Here[,] To Speake in General to All Reformatores. More esp. to those following w^{ch} I kn. already.¹⁴

Second, it would be truly international (unlike Andreae's Germanic, Lutheran circle). The "membership" list Hartlib drafted has associates from across Protestant Europe. He also kept tabs on similar societies, especially from northern Germany and Polish Prussia, referring to *collegia* in Lübeck, Elbing, Brieg, and Vilnius.¹⁵

On folio 115^r Hartlib listed those with whom he wished to associate in two groups, those *in Anglia* and *in Germania*. While he corresponded or maintained contact through Dury with most of these men, no epistolary evidence exists to suggest he had formally broached the idea of such a society with them. This list, then, should not be construed as a membership roll. Nonetheless, the kind of men he envisioned as the principals in this first enterprise reveals much about his later efforts. The only name listed for the English segment of the society was Speed, with whom Hartlib had set up his academy at Chichester.¹⁶ Some twenty-five of Speed's letters to Hartlib (who moved to London in November 1630) and Dury from this period survive among the Hartlib papers (SUL H 46.6.2-35).

Speed was involved from an early stage in this project, perhaps from the time Dury returned to England in 1630. For on 29 November 1630, he wrote Dury about his efforts to satisfy the scruples of his associates, who were uneasy about seeking peace with Lutherans.¹⁷ Speed regarded his efforts in gathering material at Oxford for the cataloguing project as a ministry:

¹⁴ BL MS, Sloane 653, fol. 136^r. He gave a dozen names.

¹⁵ He mentioned a "Collegium Elbingense, Breganse, Vlnense" (Sloane 653, fol. 113^v) and a "Collegium Lubinianum" (fol. 117^v).

¹⁶ Speed was at Oxford from 1614-1620, taking the B.A. at Magdalen Hall in 1618 and the M.A. in 1620; he was at St. Pancras until he was ejected at the Restoration. See *Oxford*, II, 1396.

¹⁷ SUL H 46.6.2a. In a 13 September 1630 letter to Dury, Hartlib discussed this obstacle, naming Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Squire, Dr. Twist, Mr. Bailie, and Mr. White as the English divines who needed persuading; see Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 133-34.

my grand endeouure shalbee to gaine possession of w^{at} gifts may bee of present or constant advantage in y^e church, by laying hands ether upon MS or printed bookes to my power, and y^e rest I shall keepe strict notice of, and attend likewise unto y^e p[er]sonall gifts and disp[osi]cions of men.¹⁸

One “report” to that end is extant, and the letters are filled with references to books he had acquired or was seeking.¹⁹ Speed had also been entrusted with the task of recruiting and coordinating others for this cataloguing project; several of his letters to Hartlib discussed men capable of “service to y^e worke of Pacification” or the problems they encountered.²⁰ The task of establishing contact with Protestant universities he found particularly engaging. He told Dury: “I would you would bee pleased to bee both a Director to vs, how to setle a familiare and faithfull correspondence wth some learned and godly men in all p[ar]tes, and cheefly in y^e Reformed Universities abroad” and mentioned the matter to Hartlib several times.²¹ He was also intrigued by the notion of repopulating northern Germany instead of the Americas with English colonies.²² Finally he was working to establish a “League” among English divines, whose function was left unspecified.²³

Hartlib listed twenty *reformatores* on the continent in *Germania*—mostly native Germans or from German speaking areas such as Lithuania or Prussia—among whom were some younger academics whose later reputations were considerable. Preeminent among these was the theologian, Johann Heinrich Alsted, professor at the Cal-

¹⁸ Letter, Speed to Dury, 28 March [1631], from Chichester, SUL H 46.6.24a. See also the 21 February [1631] letter to Hartlib, SUL H 46.6.16a.

¹⁹ Letter to Hartlib, undated (though it must be the first report he communicated, since he apologized for his weak Latin) SUL H 46.6.3a-4b.

²⁰ Letter, Speed to Hartlib, undated, SUL H 46.6.5a. Other letters, for example, secured introductions for co-workers (undated letter to Hartlib, SUL H 46.6.7a), discussed funding for amanuenses to transcribe manuscripts (undated letter to Hartlib, SUL H 46.6.14a), or requested Lutheran or Socinian books (undated letter to Hartlib, SUL H 46.6.5a). He also found a copy of Arndt’s *True Christianity* for Hartlib (letter, 7 February [1631], SUL H 46.6.10a-11b).

²¹ Letter, Speed to Dury, 28 March [1631], from Chichester, SUL H 46.6.24a. See also the undated letter to Hartlib, SUL H 46.6.14a, and the 6 June [1631] letter, SUL H 46.6.29a.

²² See the undated letter to Hartlib, SUL H 46.6.6a, where he first broached this idea, and the 11 August [1631] letter, SUL H 46.6.31a.

²³ Letter to Hartlib, 29 August [1631], SUL H 46.6.12a: “I have beene abroad in o^r Country to see w^{at} I could fasten vpon o^r Divines, and now my hopes are not only to stricke a League among vs, but of farther things.”

vinist academy in Herborn and a participant in the Synod of Dort.²⁴ Also listed were Alsted's student, Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld, likewise a professor of theology;²⁵ Marcus Friedrich Wendelin, reformed theologian and educator;²⁶ and Johann Cocceius, an Hebraist and reformed theologian.²⁷ The other academic on Hartlib's list was Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, an Italian mathematician and physiologist.²⁸

As one might expect, given Hartlib's Puritan leanings, he included a number of Calvinist divines, who certainly had the most

²⁴ Born near Herborn, Alsted (1588-1638) was educated and spent much of his career at the Hochschule there (1608-1629), where he held a chair in philosophy (1615-1629) and theology (1619-1629); later at Weissenburg (1629-1638). He had pioneered the idea of *pansophia*, by which he meant a universal knowledge that would engage the higher faculties of the intellect. His chiliastic *Diatribē de mille annis apocalypticis* (Frankfurt, 1627) was well known, and his *Encyclopædia* (Herborn, 1630) was regarded as the best of its kind. For details, see Zedler, I, 1511; and Jöcher, I, 302-3.

²⁵ Bisterfeld (1605-1655) matriculated at Leiden, 3 November 1626 as a theology student, *Leiden*, I, 196. He was named the first professor of theology at Weissenburg (1629), and was instrumental in coaxing Alsted there. Though he was once an opponent of English Puritanism, he became its zealous defender. Because his interests extended to mathematics, the natural sciences, and gold making, Bisterfeld was designated the "nekromantischer Professor" by the locals. A multivolumed edition of his complete works was published at the Hague (1661). For details, see Jöcher, I, 1108; and *ADB*, II, 682-83.

²⁶ Wendelin (1584-1652) studied under the famed David Pareus, matriculating on 23 May 1604 (II, 220) and was magister in 1607 (*Heidelberg*, II, 473). Through the patronage of the princes of Dessau, he was appointed rector of the Gymnasium at Zerbst in Sachsen-Anhalt from 1611 till his death. His rhetoric text was widely used in the schools, though his best known work was his short, clear exposition of the differences between the two confessions, *Collationem Reformatorum & Lutheranorum doctrinarum* (Kassel, 1660). For details, see Zedler, LIV, 1997-98; Jöcher, IV 1887-88; and *ADB*, XLI, 714-16.

²⁷ Cocceius (or Koch) (1603-1669) was born in Bremen, a Lutheran city, where he learned Hebrew from a rabbi as well as rabbinical allegory. He studied at the Lutheran academy in Hamburg, at Franeker in Westfriesland, Groningen and Leiden. Following the publication of two editions of Talmudic works in 1629, he was made professor of sacred philology at Bremen; eventually, he was called to the chair of dogmatic theology at Leiden (1650-1669) where he became embroiled in controversy against Hugo Grotius. His hermeneutical principle: "Die Worte der heil. Schrift bedeuten das, was sie in ihrem Zusammenhange und in Übereinstimmung mit einander bedeuten können" (*ADB*, IV, 377). He was also a prolific writer. For details, see Zedler, VI, 536-39; Jöcher, I, 1982-83; and *ADB*, IV, 376-78.

²⁸ Borelli (1608-1679) was born in Naples where he attracted the attention and support of Campanella, who was imprisoned there. He was appointed professor of mathematics at Messina (1649) and Pisa (1656) and became part of the *Accademia del Cimento* in 1667. His *De motu animalium* (published posthumously in Rome, 1680-1681), which explained the movements of the animal body according to mechanical principles, established him as the leader of the iatrophysical school. For details, see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-), XII, 543-51.

to gain from ecclesiastical reconciliation. Some he would have known by reputation, others through his Calvinist circles, such as Christian Beckman, a former Lutheran minister who had become a Calvinist.²⁹ Among the Hartlib papers are letters (SUL H 20.6) relating to the relief of Protestants in Anhalt in 1638 that mention Beckman's efforts along with Caspar Streso's, a native of Anhalt.³⁰ A member of the prominent Schlöer family from the Palatine was listed; probably intended was Christopher Schlöer, who had studied at Oxford and knew Hartlib through his cousin Theodore Haak.³¹ Hartlib may have met Johann Rulicius in England,³² whose friend Peter Gribius was also listed.³³

Hartlib personally knew a number of the proposed members from north Germany. From the *Antilia* efforts, Johann Fridwald, Johann Koy (both of Elbing), and Johann Abraham Pömer are already familiar to us, as are the names of his brother Georg Hartlib and Jungius. Two others from Prussia were listed: Peter

²⁹ Beckman (1580-1648) was born at Bornä in Meissen and was rector at Naumburg, Mühlhausen, and Amberg. After he became a Calvinist, he was rector at Bernburg, then professor of theology and superintendent at Zerbst. His best known work was *Manuductio ad Latinam linguam*. For details, see Zedler, III, 877-88.

³⁰ Streso (1603-1664) was a Calvinist preacher in the Hague and author of many biblical commentaries and other controversial works. He began theological studies in 1628, *Leiden*, I, 208, and continued at *Groningen*, 21. For details, see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 10 vols. (Leiden, 1911-1937) X, 984.

³¹ Pamela R. Barnett, *Theodore Haak, F.R.S. (1605-1690): The First German Translator of "Paradise Lost"* (The Hague: Mouton, 1962), p. 29, maintains that BL MS, Sloane 417 is the correspondence of Christopher Schlöer (b. 1613) and Hartlib, which would place him squarely in the Hartlib circle. (Most scholars, however, identify the author as Joachim Hübner). She provides details on the Schlöer family, pp. 10-13, 19-22, 28-31. Two of the sons in exile of *paterfamilias*, J. F. Schlöer (b. 1568), former councillor of state to the elector Palatine, are possibilities: Frederick (1601-1676), who was active in the relief movement for the Palatine, later preacher at the German church in the Hague, who then received an English benefice and took English nationality; or Christian (1604-1680), who followed his father in service to the elector.

³² A German Calvinist, Rulicius (or Rülz, 1602-1666) studied theology under Alsted at Herborn in 1623, then at Cambridge with John Preston (having been recommended by Frederick V), and finally at Heidelberg in 1634, where he was for a short time pastor of the Heilige Geistkirche; he too was active in the Palatine relief movement with Haak. Through the recommendation of Elizabeth of Bohemia, he was appointed English preacher at Amsterdam in 1636. He received for distribution fifty copies of Comenius's *Pansophia prodromus* in 1639 from Hartlib (Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 348-49); for details, see Milada Blekastad, *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský* (Oslo and Prague: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), p. 290 n.

³³ Gribius (d. 1666), was a German clergyman who ministered in Middleburg, and later (1652-1666) at the German church at Amsterdam where Comenius heard him preach.

Zimmermann, a Lutheran irenicist and clergyman;³⁴ and Johann Mochinger, a Lutheran minister and professor of eloquence.³⁵ The remaining three names listed, Pansa, Stener and Menninger, have not been positively identified.³⁶ Curiously, neither Andreae nor Comenius was listed at this time.

In all of the formulations for this society, Hartlib listed *Pax Ecclesiae* as the prime desideratum. This particular aspiration was the life's work of Dury (1596-1680), who was born in Edinburgh but spent part of his youth abroad at Leiden where his father was a minister. After Oxford (1624), he was briefly minister to the French church at Cologne and from 1625-1630 to the English Company of Merchants at Elbing. Concerned about the division within the Protestant churches, he devoted his energies to ecclesiastical pacification. In late 1628, he petitioned Gustavus Adolphus to put himself at the head of a movement to reconcile Lutherans and Calvinists.³⁷ He also enlisted the early support of Hartlib, whom he had met at Elbing.³⁸ When the Polish Diet dissolved the English Company at Elbing in favor of Danzig in 1628, Dury's congregation dwindled; he left for London in June 1630, with the encouragement of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had met in Elbing during Roe's 1629 embassy to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland. Realizing the political advantages of unity among Protestants, Roe had agreed to provide Dury with introductions to church leaders

³⁴ Zimmermann (1600-1656), or Cimmermann, the variant spelling Hartlib used, was professor of theology and later rector, in the Gymnasium at Torun, who came in close contact with Comenius in 1645 when he was living in Elbing. For details, see Jöcher IV, 2210.

³⁵ Mochinger (1603-1652) was born in Danzig and would have known Georg Hartlib from the Danzig Gymnasium. He matriculated on 20 June 1618, *Königsberg*, I, 233, and studied theology at Strasbourg. He was professor of eloquence at the Gymnasium in Danzig. For details, see Zedler, XXI, 690-91; and Jöcher, III, 562.

³⁶ One "Casparus Pantza, Francus" matriculated 20 October 1603 at Altdorf; he went with Wolfgang Jacob Pömer (who was later active with Andreae) to Strasbourg to study for three years; returned to Nuremberg where he was Advocat 1613-1616, then became an adviser to the Archduke Maximilian. For details, see *Altdorf*, I, 85; II, 415; and Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4 vols. (Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1755-1758), III, 117-18.

³⁷ This petition was published in 1641. See Gunnar Westin, *Negotiations about Church Unity, 1628-1634: John Durie, Gustavus Adolphus, Axel Oxenstierna* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1932); and Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 127-222.

³⁸ Letter, Dury to Hartlib, from Elbing, 8 December 1628; see Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 130-31.

and other officials.³⁹ While at Elbing Dury was certainly aware of the efforts to establish *Antilia*, as his “Censura” of their laws indicates, though he was never mentioned as a member.⁴⁰ Since Dury and Hartlib’s notes were bound together in Sloane 653, it seems fair to credit the mechanism for advancing their common ideals, the *Societas Reformatorem et Correspondency*, to both.

While Hartlib was more expansive in his plans for this society, Dury viewed it as a network for promoting ecclesiastical peace. In one of the early versions of a tract justifying his efforts, entitled “The Purpose and Platforme of my Journey into Germany,” he explained his purpose:

By the Gracious assistance of God I intend, in passing through the chiefe places of Prussia and Germany, to lay a ground, and settle a way of Correspondency betwixt us and the reformed Divines of Germany: that wee and they may be able to communicate in all spirituall things, but chiefly in our Counsells and meditations, for the advancement of Peace in the Churches; & for the building up of one another, in the power & truth of Godlines.⁴¹

Dury explained further that certain steps had already been taken, to wit, the cataloguing of rare books and inventions. In essence, his peace plans hinged on the same correspondence ideas as Hartlib’s broader plans for a true republic of letters among Protestants. In “A Memorandum for M^r Durie,” Hartlib suggested twenty *reformatores* for Dury to visit, half of whom were considered part of the society.⁴² Dury’s surviving letters reveal how he used this association to advance his great cause. British Library MS, Sloane 654 is filled with copies of letters to various men regarding Dury’s ecclesiastical union plans, some of whom were on Hartlib’s *Correspondency* list. The expression “brother in Christ” was employed frequently in these letters: for example, the 23 September 1633 letter to Mochinger from Frankfurt began: “Mitto hic Clarissime Vir, atque in Christo Reverende frater, ex quibus statum consultationis de Ecclesiasticâ Concordiâ hactenus à me. . . .”⁴³ From this formulaic

³⁹ For details, see *DNB*, XVII, 89-93; and Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1970), pp. 199-208.

⁴⁰ Dury’s “De Legibus Societatis Christianæ Exercitatio,” SUL H 55.20.5b-10b, which Hartlib referred to as “Duræi censura,” was written in 1629.

⁴¹ BL MS, Sloane 654, fol. 247^{r-v}; quotation is from fol. 247^r.

⁴² BL MS, Sloane 653, fol. 136^r.

⁴³ BL MS, Sloane 654, fol. 26^r. See also Dury’s letters to Pömer (fol. 31^{r-v}), to

opening, Dury quickly turned to the business at hand, ecclesiastical peace. Even in his letter to Andreae, whose contributions to the society movement in Germany were well-known, Dury concerned himself only with winning Andreae's support for the work of pacification.⁴⁴

Dury met some of the principals of the various utopian and learned societies in the course of his travels. His work was known to Andreae through a privy councillor in Württemberg, Benjamin Buwinckhausen.⁴⁵ Dury met Jungius at Hamburg in 1631 as he journeyed from England to Germany. On this same trip, he went to Nuremberg where he met Saubert. He knew Pömer and may have met Hein. He knew Duke August. In Hamburg Dury met Engelbrecht, who promised to demonstrate his method of instructing languages, and discussed the possibility of acquiring Tassius's valuable library for Gresham College in London.⁴⁶ However, if he pursued the idea of developing the *Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency* with these men to further their common utopian ideals, he left no record of it.

In addition to the sketches of this society in Sloane 653, Hartlib also published a more elaborate account of his broader goals as part of *The Reformed Spiritual Husbandman*. He argued in "An Humble Memorandum concerning a Correspondencie with Forreigne Protestants" that while writing letters to advance worldly concerns was quite common, a spiritual *agency* was needed to "procure the

Cimmermann (fol. 64^r), or Beckmann (fols. 140^r-41^r). We can also see a similar use of *brothers* in his 10 February 1632 letter soliciting aid, "Exemplar Epistolæ missæ ad Fratres Exules è Palatinu, Superiore" (fols. 175^r-76^v).

⁴⁴ Letter, Dury to Andreae, 14/24 September 1633, from Frankfurt: "Audii vestri Reverende, atque eximie Vir in quærenda Ecclesiarum concordia [con]testationes, ab Excellentiss^o D[omi]no Buninckhausio ad transmissam, lubens, lætusque vitii atque ejus nomine non solum Ecclesiis Dei gratulatus sum, sed etiam gaudius sum instituti nostri rationes providentiæ, atque pietati vestræ non displicere: Rogo igitur pro Zelo in domum Dei vestro, velitis ea quæ recepistis in hoc negotio promovendo viâ pergere, atque amæbæam fratribus in hac causâ [con]iunctis operam præstare; et ne quid desis vobis ad pleniorum consiliorum nostrorum cognitionem hic breviter summam rei recensebo, quam fratribus suis huic causæ addictis non gravatè communicare poterit Rever. Dignitas Fra., quo magis magisque confirmentur in opere illorum manus" (fol. 23^r).

⁴⁵ Letter, Benjamin Buwinckhausen to Dury, 24 June 1633, from Stuttgart, SUL H 69.8.1a-b. Dury also wrote directly to Andreae, 14 September 1633, from Frankfurt, BL MS, Sloane 654, fol. 23^r.

⁴⁶ See Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 144, 150, 189, 196. Tassius wanted to bequeath his library to a college of learned men.

safety, the prosperity and the good of the Protestant profession, and of all Gods people.”⁴⁷ Further goals were to free Protestants from the power of “antichristianity” and to promote peace among Christians. To achieve these ends, he advocated a spiritual *Correspondency and Agency*.

The matters about which this Correspondency ought to be conversant in due time, are all things belonging to the Communion of Saints, which in a Religious and Learned way, by mutuall communications upon Common Principles of Truth revealed in the Word of God, may tend to the advancement of Godlinesse, to the clearing of necessary Truths, to the maintaining of Unity and Peace amongst Brethren, to the composing of needlesse and distracting Differences and Controversies, to the beating down of all Impiety, of all Superstition, of all fundamentall Errours and Disorderlinesse; and to the advancement of all Humane profitable Learning.⁴⁸

Special projects already underway were the “Counsels of peace Ecclesiasticall, and Unity to be ripened and prosecuted amongst all Protestants” as well as the compilation of works of practical divinity, “wherewith God hath blessed us [the English] above the rest of the Churches.”⁴⁹ Hartlib thus saw this society in somewhat broader terms than Dury: he regarded increased understanding and better communication among the learned—in short, the advancement of learning—as prerequisites for the advancement of God’s kingdom.⁵⁰ However, when Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, their campaign for ecclesiastical pacification began to falter, and Hartlib began to shift his energy toward the pansophical projects of the Moravian reformer, Jan Amos Comenius, who in his turn had been influenced by Andreae.

⁴⁷ *The Reformed Spiritual Husbandman: with An Humble Memorandum concerning Chelsy Colledge. And a correspondencie with Forreigne Protestants* (London, 1652), pp. 33–34. Dury’s “An Answer to the *Case of Conscience*” (pp. 1–32) comprises most of this tract, but included are the two short pieces: “An Humble Memorandum concerning a Correspondencie with Forreigne Protestants” (pp. 33–37) and “That the Foundation of *Chelsy-Colledge* may be confirmed, raised, and enlarged for the Design of a Publick Centre of good Intelligence, and a Correspondency with forreign Protestant Churches in the Cause of Religion and Learning” (pp. 37–38).

⁴⁸ *Spiritual Husbandman*, p. 35.

⁴⁹ *Spiritual Husbandman*, pp. 35–36.

⁵⁰ Dury was also quite interested in educational matters. He wrote *The Reformed School* (1649) and also *The Reformed Librarie Keeper* (1650); he was considered for the headship of an Oxford college.

B. Comenius, Macaria & the Collegium Lucis

Hartlib would have known of Comenius by reputation, since his new method for teaching Latin (published in 1631) had won him international fame. They may have corresponded as early as 1632, but Hartlib made a personal connection in 1634 through two Bohemian refugees he aided in London.⁵¹ He quickly recognized that Comenius's *pansophia* provided an intellectual framework for his own utopian projects. In Comenius he saw a star to which he could hitch his wagon. After Comenius sent him a long introductory sketch of his scheme, Hartlib the impresario took the liberty of having it printed as *Connatum Comenianorum praeludia, sive Pansophiae Prodromus* (Cambridge, 1637). Hartlib explained to the surprised Comenius that publication had been necessary to help acquire the specialists needed for the planned encyclopedia of human knowledge and obtain financial backing. The response was so enthusiastic – Mersenne pledged his support as did Tassius – that they published a second edition in 1639, this time with Comenius's input. Thus, a fruitful cooperation was begun that culminated in the 1641 visit to help with the reformation of England.

Comenius (1592-1670) was born not far from the Hungarian border in southeastern Moravia where communities of the *Unitas Fratrum* or Bohemian Brethren flourished.⁵² Since the doctrinal position of the Brethren was closer to Calvin than Luther and the Charles University was dominated by utraquist theologians, they sent their sons to reformed schools in Germany. Comenius studied under Alsted at the Gymnasium at Herborn and later at Heidelberg, where his teacher was the leader of German Calvinism, David Pareus.⁵³ From this Calvinist background Comenius

⁵¹ Sometime in 1634 seems likely given that Daniel Erastus matriculated at Cambridge at Easter 1633 and Samuel Benedictus (who had been Comenius's secretary) in November 1632; see Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *Comenius in England* (London: Oxford UP, 1932), pp. 33-34. It is also possible that Hartlib knew of Comenius through his younger brother Georg, who had studied at Heidelberg at the same time as Comenius.

⁵² For biographical details, see Matthew Spinka, *John Amos Comenius That Incomparable Moravian* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1943), pp. 24-62; and Blekastad's biography. See also the summary account of his achievements in Frank E. and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1979), pp. 309-20.

⁵³ He matriculated at Herborn on 30 March 1611 and on 19 June 1613 at Heidelberg; Spinka, p. 27. The *Irenicum* (1614) of Pareus (1548-1622) proposed a general synod to unite all European protestants and was an early milestone in the Christian

learned to place Scripture at the center of all learning. He began his career in service to his church (as priest from 1616 to 1621, and as bishop from 1648), but his personal and professional life was completely upended by the events of the Thirty Years' War. As a religious leader, he was forced into hiding after the Battle of the White Mountain, leaving behind his child and pregnant wife who died the next year of plague. In his devastation, he turned inward and produced a classic of mystical devotion, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1623). When the Brethren were driven in the spring of 1628 from their retreats in Silesia and Bohemia by an edict outlawing all confessions (save Roman Catholicism), Comenius had to flee his native soil. He settled in Leszno, a small town close to the Silesian border that was a center for the Polish branch of the Brethren, to await his repatriation. (He never would return, as Bohemia lost its political independence in the settlements that ended the war.)

Comenius began to write pedagogical works in Czech that he expected to publish at his return. He was induced to publish a Latin language primer that was based on the notion that children learned words in relation to things, i.e., pictures instead of abstractions. A huge success, *Janua linguarum reserata* (Leszno, 1631) was translated into German, Polish and English almost immediately and remained a standard text for centuries.⁵⁴ Convinced of the essential unity of the evangelical confessions – i.e., those that believed in salvation through faith alone – he began to work for Christian unity. Comenius planned a sequel, *Janua rerum* or *The Gate of Things*, that was to be an encyclopedia of all Christian knowledge. This was the beginning of his reformation of all culture that came to be known as *pansophia* or universal knowledge.⁵⁵

Comenius's vision of universal knowledge developed as a result of his encounters with the writings of Andreae, Bacon, and Campanella, as he himself indicated.⁵⁶ To the obvious influences of his teachers, Alsted and Pareus, must be added those of the edu-

unity movement.

⁵⁴ The *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (Nuremberg, 1658) is a reduced, simplified version of this first illustrated reading book.

⁵⁵ Spinka, p. 62.

⁵⁶ In his *Opera Didactica Omnia: ab anno 1627 ad 1657 continuata* (Amsterdam, 1657), I, 442, Comenius praised Andreae's sparkling spirit and counted him, along with Bacon and Campanella, as decisive stimulants to his thinking.

cational reformer Wolfgang Ratke, Arndt's *True Christianity*, and Böhme's theosophy.⁵⁷ About the significance of Andreae's writings, there can be little doubt, for after much of his library was lost in a fire, Comenius wrote to an old friend in Germany seeking copies of Andreae's books "from whence almost the very beginnings of my pansophical designs were derived."⁵⁸ How strongly he was influenced by Andreae's writings is also discernible from his wholesale borrowings and adaptations in *The Labyrinth of the World* (1623, printed 1631).⁵⁹ In the allegory a pilgrim finds only fraud and unhappiness in his journey through the labyrinth of the world. The Palace of Wisdom, his final destination, appears at first to be a magnificent building, but, upon closer inspection, he learns it is only a hollow shell (much like the anamorphic perspective achieved by Redcrosse Knight at the House of Pride). He finally hears a mysterious voice telling him to leave the labyrinth and search for the true paradise within the heart where Christ dwells among the humble. The pilgrim then learns through Scripture and the Book of Nature what the world, his guides, and Solomon could not teach him. For the Bohemian Brethren wandering in their own labyrinth, Comenius's tale afforded special consolation.

Comenius's treatment of the Rosicrucian furor in the *Labyrinth* offers further proof that some *virtuosi* made a distinction between the message of hope and the vulgar outcry. One of the Pilgrim's early experiences among men of learning is a visit by the Rosicrucians. A messenger publicly announces the brotherhood's aims (with words taken directly from the *Fama*) and then leaves.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Blanka Jeřábek, "Die Bedeutung von Andreä und Comenius für die europäische Geistesgeschichte," in *Johann Valentin Andreä, 1586-1654: Ein universaler Geist des 17. Jahrhunderts in internationaler Sicht*, Friedrich Bran, ed. (Bad Liebenzell: Gengenbach, 1987), pp. 45-49.

⁵⁸ Letter, Comenius to Magnus Hesenthaler, 1 September 1656, from Amsterdam; ed. Kvačala, I, 324-25: "inde enim fere mihi primordia pansophicarum cogitationum hausta erant." Comenius listed eight early works—*Turbo*, *Peregrini in Patria errores*, *Civis Christianus*, *Christianopolis*, *Mythologiae Christianae*, *Turris Babel*, *Incendium Waihengense*, and *Menippus*—but ended with a double *et cetera* to indicate any others would be appreciated.

⁵⁹ The first chapter was simply a paraphrase of the *Peregrini in Patria errores*; the account of the pilgrim's visit to the philosophers was taken from *Mythologia Christiana*; and the visit to the Rosicrucians used the *Fama*. See Hermann von Criegern, *Jan Amos Comenius als Theolog* (Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1881).

⁶⁰ As the subtitle to this chapter, Comenius cited a 1612 German and Latin version of the *Fama* as his source. Since Comenius wrote this in exile and without the benefit of his library, either his memory of the date played him false or he used a manuscript.

Afterwards, when the Pilgrim's hopes are dashed as all manner of charlatans appear with various fraudulent claims, his Interpreter reassures him: "Who knows? Someone may yet succeed in this. Perhaps these men know the hour when they should reveal these things to someone."⁶¹ While the Pilgrim chooses not to wait, Comenius clearly differentiated between the ideals of the brotherhood and the confusion caused by the *Fama*. Later in his life (c. 1655), he stated even more emphatically his support for the Rosicrucian ideals. In manuscript notes taken during the last decade of his life, Comenius wrote:

If dear God would allow the light within us to kindle and from here go forth into the wide world (concentrating first on the *Collegium Lucis*) for founding a new truly catholic, philadelphic church – would not the Fraternity of the Rose Cross be the spectacle [*Ludus*] of the wisdom of God, whose prelude was half a century before? Whose first fulfillment occurred in the Unity of Czech Brethren, which God brought to light through the cross.⁶²

The Rosicrucian brotherhood, he seems to imply, was thus an intermediate stage for his own *collegium*, both of which were prefigured in his church. Given his affection for Andreae's piety and writings, his attitude is not surprising.

After the exile of the Brethren, a society of the sort proposed by Andreae was especially attractive to the scholarly Comenius, who corresponded with Andreae on two separate occasions. Since he published an account of their first letters in his *Opera Didactica Omnia*, we have a rare look at both sides of the exchange. Once Comenius learned of the plans for a *Societas Christiana* through Andreae's *aurea scripta*, he wrote in 1628, seeking news of their efforts and beseeching that he be numbered among Andreae's admirers, disciples, and sons. Andreae responded "lovingly" from Calw on 4 September 1628 that the principals were too exhausted for new wounds and their pious efforts had withered away. He would

⁶¹ Jan Amos Komenský, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, trans. Count Lützwow (1901; rpt. New York: Arno, 1971), p. 156.

⁶² *Clamores Eliae*, Fragment V, dated 19 February [probably 1665]; ed. Blekastad, p. 712: "Dá-li milý Bůh, aby se to veliké světu světlo u nás zanítlo a odtud vyšlo (concentrujíc se nejprv dobře per Collegium Lucis) ad fundandam Ecclesiam novam verè Catholicam Philadelphicam – nebyloliž by to Ludus sapientiae Dei, cujus praeludium ante semiseculum Fraternitas Rosae Crucis? Ježíž první splnění bylo na Jednotě Bratří českých, qvam Deus per Crucem ad lucem exercuit."

accept Comenius's friendship "if you, as you write, far removed from all parties and zealotry, believe in and submit to the One Truth, and embrace Christian Liberty under the bond of Charity." Comenius then wrote from Lissa on 20 July 1629 that he and three friends, who were neither German nor Lutheran, were anxious to become *novitios athletas* for Christ under his leadership.⁶³ J. A. Pömer too used a similar metaphor in praising Andreae as the "superintendent of the games" [*agonothetæ*].⁶⁴ Andreae replied a few months later, accepting Comenius into his fellowship, tracing the society's origins, and offering copies of the *Imago* and *Leges*.⁶⁵

I have duly received, very reverend and distinguished man, your friendly and most respectful letter of 20 July, in which you continue both your affection for me and your zeal for change: and in both you have me as a most agreeable comrade. Christ will bring this about so that our unanimity may accrue to the advantage of the afflicted church, and moreover, with so many succeeding who are devoted to Christian matters, it may repair my hope before I retire from the scene. For the rest, because you are especially keen on tracing the *Societas Christiana*, I will not fail your very honest desires. Neither have I written the whole Idea, nor yet a full history. We were a few men of good standing, who came together after the mockery [*ludibrium*] of the vain report [*fama*] about eight years before, and there were more still in arms. But the unrest in Germany surprised and nearly destroyed us. Many, drawn to a better country, deserted us: hence some mourned, some were involved in the uproar, others despaired – I shortened the sails. Only we few have remained, more panting for a happy outcome, than sufficient to clean the Augean stables. And so we hand the tables of our shipwreck to be read by you

⁶³ Johann von Jonston (1603-1675) was a Silesian physician and polyhistor of Scottish extraction, who was born in Poland and studied in England and at Leiden; he wrote *Thaumatographia naturalis* (Amsterdam, 1632). For details, see Zedler, XIV, 1071-72; and Jöcher II, 1962-63. Jan Stadius (c. 1600-1634), a Czech clergyman from Strážnice, studied with Comenius under Alsted at Herborn. He was an elder among the Bohemian Brethren. For details, see Blekastad, pp. 24, 204-5. David Ursinus (1588-1644) was also an elder, described in the *Necrologium* of the Brethren as "not so very learned, but pious, loving order and discipline" (following Blekastad's German translation of the Czech, p. 152). Jonston and Stadius were at the time helping Comenius prepare a Czech version of the *Didactica*.

⁶⁴ Letter, Pömer to Andreae, 13 July 1641, from Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o, fols. 24-25.

⁶⁵ Extracts of three letters (and all of the 15 September 1629 letter) were printed in chapter XXIX, "Digressivus ad Theologus Sermo," of his *Novissima linguarum methodus*, in *Opera Didactica Omnia*, II, 283-84; also, Kvačala, I, 10-12. Comenius made some marginal notes to himself on the letter, designating that Andreae had enclosed two manuscripts: "NB. Cujus scilicet Imaginem, et Leges communicaverat."

and improved, if it pleases: it would be blessing enough if we shall not have failed altogether in our great enterprise. They are themselves so-laced, who have revealed new lands in their wanderings by the more fortunate navigation of their follower. The aim was to restore CHRIST to his place, when the religious and literary idols had been dislodged. But he will appoint his time: nor did he wish more perhaps from us, than a temple from David once. Because we were Germans, we chose only Germans; the law was not fixed and has already been changed. This good cause admits all nations as fellows [*socios*]: chiefly it unites Christian exiles. You use our plan, and conduct yourselves gravely with our applauding. I salute Ursinus, Stadius, and Jonston, and commend you to our Lord Christ with pious entreaties.⁶⁶

Andreae's letter clearly encouraged the then unknown Moravian priest to continue *on his own* the efforts to found a Christian society using the model established in his utopian tracts. He also implied that Comenius was a successor: Andreae saw himself as another Phaethon—whose epitaph he echoed (“though he greatly failed, more greatly dared”)—whose wandering course would be corrected *sequuturis feliciore Navigatione*.⁶⁷ Andreae had become exhausted from such Herculean efforts. As discussed in Chapter IV, Saubert had taken the lead in establishing the *Unio Christiana* about this time. The *Tabulas Naufragii* Andreae handed over may allude to the votive tablets displayed by survivors of shipwrecks to evoke sympathy, as in Horace's *Odes*,⁶⁸ but literally they signified the *Leges* and the *Imago* Andreae conferred on him, as Comenius indicated in the margin. The four Czechs were offered use of *nostro consilio* and urged to conduct themselves gravely. The fact that these letters were published also confirms that Comenius believed a torch had been passed, though it would not be until he offered Andreae's utopian tracts to Hartlib a short time later that that incandescence would manifest itself.

Eighteen years later Comenius reestablished contact with Andreae, after his stay at Lüneburg in August 1647, and prompted to reply by Andreae's derision of those who had sown the tares of

⁶⁶ Letter, Andreae to Comenius, 15 September 1629, from Calw, *Opera Didactica Omnia*, II, 284. Comenius identified parenthetically “*Famæ vanæ*” as “*Fraternitatis Roseæ*,” signifying that he knew exactly what Andreae meant.

⁶⁷ See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (London: Heinemann, 1916), II, 328: “*SI NON TENVIT MAGNIS TAMEN EXCIDIT AVSIS.*” Andreae echoed this tag: “*satis beati, si non omninò magnis ausis exciderimus.*”

⁶⁸ See Horace's *Ode*, 1, 5, 13; see von Criegern, pp. 336–38.

“scholastic pansophy” to the detriment of Lutheranism.⁶⁹ The leader of the Brethren in exile was stupefied (*Obstupui*) at this insinuation of heresy, even quoting the offending phrase. He reminded Andreae that his own church had been reformed by Jan Hus a century before Luther or Calvin.⁷⁰ He reproached Andreae for implying publicly that *pansophia* was the devil’s work. His indignation notwithstanding, Comenius began the letter by remarking that, after so many years, divine providence must be responsible for bringing them together and expressed his delight that Andreae had survived the destruction of Calw in 1634; at the end he sought assurance that Andreae had not spurned a friendship begun in Christ. The letter Andreae wrote to clarify his words does not survive, but we know Comenius accepted his excuses and reaffirmed their friendship.⁷¹ Comenius also passed along his manuscript of Andreae’s *Theophilus*, the other copies of which had been lost in the fire at Calw; when Andreae published it the following year, he offered public recognition and praise of Comenius. Even so Andreae’s attitude towards Comenius’s pansophical schemes seems clear, and he was reluctant to associate too closely with him. Despite Comenius’s international reputation, neither he nor his works were accorded a single reference in Andreae’s *Vita*.⁷²

While inspired by Andreae’s Protestant utopianism, Comenius also was influenced by Bacon’s inductive method and proposals for experimental colleges. Comenius likewise believed that learning would be advanced by observing nature, not by amassing citations from ancient authorities. Observation coupled with reason ought to guide the scientist, though he regarded divine revelation as the final arbiter.⁷³ He felt pure Baconian induction—without revelation

⁶⁹ In the preface to his patron’s devotional work, *Brunswikische Evangelische Kirchen-Harmonie*, ed. Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (Lüneburg, 1646), Sig. Aiiii^r, Andreae wrote: “alii, infelix Iolium Scholasticae Pan-sophiae, in Lutheri despectum serere.”

⁷⁰ Letter, Comenius to Andreae, 22 August 1647, from Lüneburg, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o fol. 577-78; ed. Kvačala, I, 200-3.

⁷¹ Letter, Comenius to Andreae, 27 June 1648, from Lissa, Wolfenbüttel MS, *Cod. Guelf.* 11.12 Aug. 2^o fol. 579; ed. Kvačala, I, 209-10.

⁷² Richard van Dülmen, “Johann Amos Comenius und Johann Valentin Andreae: Ihre persönliche Verbindung und ihr Reformanliegen,” *Bohemia-Jahrbuch* 9 (1968):73-87, supports that view that Andreae was reticent towards the Bohemian Brethren, so he kept Comenius at a distance.

⁷³ See Spinka, p. 66.

—too secular, just as he would later accuse the Royal Society of an overly materialist approach. The English title of his *Physicae ad Lumen Divinum Reformatae* (Leipzig, 1633) made plain his emphasis: *Naturall Philosophie Reformed, Being a view of the World in generall, and of the particular Creatures therein contained; grounded upon Scripture Principles* (London, 1651). Comenius charted his own *via media* between what R. C. Southgate has termed “autonomous science” and science derived from divinity.⁷⁴ As Webster has explained, Comenius strove for a syncretistic method that drew from three paths to knowledge:

the senses, reason and revelation. The senses provide an inductive understanding of nature; reason a knowledge of innate principles; revelation a guide to the interpretation of the scriptures.⁷⁵

He thus hoped to reunify what had become compartmentalized. This new synthesis he called *pansophia*. Initially, he had used this term to differentiate school books for the study of language (i.e., his *Janua linguarum*) from those for the study of things (i.e., the *Janua rerum*); so, influenced by the encyclopedism of Alsted, he had called for *universal books* that would make the study of wisdom easier. Later, as Dagmar Čapková explains, Comenius’s ideas on the study of things evolved into a three part division: *pansophia*, an elaboration of the arrangement of the universe, along with a metaphysics elaborating this arrangement; *panhistoria*, both the history of past events and the history of *realia*; and *pandogmatica*, an encyclopedic digest of the most significant books in the world. His great pansophical work was, thus, more than simply the cataloguing projects undertaken in its name. As Čapková reminds us, Comenius was above all an educational reformer whose life’s work was motivated by a core idea among the Brethren, the notion that the image of God in humankind could be gradually perfected so that all could be united as “brothers.” Education was the key that made possible the return to God.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ R. C. Southgate, “‘Forgotten and Lost’: Some Reactions to Autonomous Science in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50 (1989):264-65.

⁷⁵ Charles Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970), p. 24. For a more comprehensive treatment, see *The Great Instauration*.

⁷⁶ Dagmar Čapková, “The Idea of Panhistoria in the Development of Comenius’s Work Toward Consultatio,” *Acta Comeniana* 26 (1970):49-72. See also chapter XVI of Comenius’s *Via Lucis* for an explanation of the relationship of *pansophia* to *panhistoria* and *pandogmatica*.

Once Comenius made contact with Hartlib in the 1630s, the work of *pansophia*, broadly construed, was begun in England. Funds were raised to support Comenius's activities.⁷⁷ In the late 1630s, he enlisted the aid of Hübner, with whom he exchanged letters – mostly in German – nearly every week from October 1636 to late 1637 when he resettled in London.⁷⁸ Their early letters discuss Andreae's writings and *Antilia*, but from December 1636 onwards, Hübner's main concern was promoting Comenian *pansophia*. At Oxford he acted as Hartlib's deputy, by overseeing the publication of the first sketch of Comenius's pansophical plans, and he sent weekly reports on the progress of an international organization of academies and of various other projects. Hübner's broad-ranging scientific interests, especially concerning the method or philosophy of science, were useful to Hartlib the pragmatist. Hübner also began to correspond with Comenius. In December 1638, he wrote a long letter suggesting that a college of specialists be established whose domain would be all of human culture, an idea which Comenius endorsed.⁷⁹

Hartlib's major coup in promoting pansophical schemes was to persuade Comenius to visit England in 1641, ostensibly to have a direct hand in establishing the new order. Since the full story of this episode has been told elsewhere, only a brief summary is necessary.⁸⁰ Once the Long Parliament was called, both Hartlib and Comenius knew the moment was at hand for inaugurating educational reforms and establishing a Baconian *collegium*.⁸¹ When

⁷⁷ Comenius received several hundred pounds between 1637 and 1641 for amanuenses and expenses; see Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 349.

⁷⁸ Kvačala, II, 243, who edited many of these letters, called it the first learned correspondence in German, though only Hübner's letters to Hartlib have survived (in BL MS, Sloane 417). In his letters, he often was addressed by his friends as *Fundanus*, a Latin pun on his name: *fundus* (ground, bottom) is the equivalent of *Hube* or more commonly *Hufe*, a piece of land of a certain size, from which the family name *Hübner* (or possessor of a *Hufe*) was derived.

⁷⁹ Letter, Hübner to Comenius, from London, 14/24 December 1638, BL MS, Sloane 639, fols. 1^r-6^r; ed. Kvačala, I, 127-34. See Spinka, p. 72.

⁸⁰ See Young *passim*, who translates the autobiographical accounts of the visit; Spinka, pp. 74-78; and Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 342-70.

⁸¹ Hartlib had tried to coax Comenius to England as early as 1636, but Comenius, in a 7/17 February 1641 letter to Hartlib, himself urged Hartlib to seize the day in approaching Charles I about these reforms; see Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 350-52. It is interesting to note that the Brethren had given Comenius permission to make the trip because of the potential missionary aspects of *pansophia*.

Comenius arrived on the autumnal equinox 1641, however, only forty or so members of Parliament were at hand; the king was in Scotland for the queen's coronation, and Parliament was recessed. On 25 October 1641, Hartlib brought out a practical utopian work, *Macaria*, timed to coincide with the reopening of Parliament as an attempt to influence its judgment.

The tract was dedicated "To the High and Honourable Court of Parliament." Indeed, one of the characters in the dialogue ventured the opinion that Parliament was at the time "generally bent to make a good reformation."⁸² Long considered a work of Hartlib, it is now known to be mainly the work of Gabriel Plattes with the collaboration of Hartlib.⁸³ While the full title, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria*, is reminiscent of Andreae's *Reipublicæ Christianopolitanæ Descriptio*, its fifteen scant pages offered a Baconian dream of an England made wealthy by utilitarian science and economic development.⁸⁴ The name recalls the "happy" or "blessed" island neighbors of More's Utopians (and perhaps μαχαρία, the Blessed Isles of Greek myth). Only a few concrete details were offered, though these were visionary: a five percent estate tax to improve public works, such as highways and bridges, and a proposal for permanent parliamentary committees to deal with economic policies.

Grasping the significance of specialization in the economic governance of the nation, Hartlib called for the establishment of five councils to improve the commonwealth—one for husbandry, fishing, internal trade, foreign trade, and new colonies. He emphasized the development of agriculture, especially the extensive crown holdings, both to increase food production and provide employment. To further stimulate agricultural production, a system of progressive taxation for those who failed to improve their lands was

⁸² Gabriel Plattes, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (London, 1641), p. 2. Such a reformation, the "Traveller" averred, was expected as a prelude to Judgment Day (p. 13).

⁸³ Hartlib probably gave the work its patina of traditional literary utopianism, while the practical ideas are very similar to Plattes' other writings. For a complete account, see Charles Webster, *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and "Macaria"* (Oxford: Wellcome, 1979). When Plattes died in 1643, Hartlib lost his main expert on technology; consequently, the hopes for a "utopian College of Experience" were dashed (p. 35).

⁸⁴ For a detailed economic analysis, see J. K. Fuz, *Welfare Economics in English Utopias From Francis Bacon to Adam Smith* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952), pp. 22-33.

also advocated. He further recommended the subsidized emigration of the surplus population. A research *collegium* also was proposed called the "Colledge of experience," which drew on Plattes' own "Colledge for Inventions in Husbandry" as well as the experimental laboratories of *Christianopolis* and Solomon's House in *New Atlantis*.⁸⁵ Here "they deliver out yeerly such medicines as they find out by experience; and all such as shall be able to demonstrate any experiment for the health or wealth of men, are honourably rewarded at the publike charge, by which their skill in Husbandry, Physick, and Surgerie, is most excellent."⁸⁶ The result is material and spiritual prosperity for the "blessed" kingdom. The free use of these proposals was offered to Parliament, to whom the work was also dedicated. Webster reminds us that *Macaria* ought to be placed with the reform literature of 1641, not with the polished utopian works of More or Bacon (even though an affiliation with them was made in the dedication).⁸⁷

Though nothing came of this sketch at the time, Hartlib was able to secure a makeshift grant for Comenius, who was somewhat disappointed by the turn of events, having expected his "official invitation" would result in more concrete results.⁸⁸ Planning proceeded apace, however, at least to the extent that the facilities of Chelsea College were examined, but when news of the Irish war swept London in November, these plans were shelved. Instead Comenius drafted an outline in *Via Lucis* for another pansophical project he called the *collegium lucis*, which he finished in April 1642.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ See Plattes, *Discovery of Infinite Treasure* (London, 1639), p. 72, cited in Webster, *Utopian Planning*, p. 81. The "book of Husbandry" proposed to Parliament (p. 11), probably referred to Plattes' *Arts Mistress*, which concerned husbandry broadly construed (p. 86).

⁸⁶ *Macaria*, p. 5.

⁸⁷ E.g., *A Glimpse of Sions Glory*; John Stoughton's *Felicitas Ultimi Saeculi*; Lord Brooke's *Nature of Truth*; Comenius's *Via Lucis*; Milton's anti-prelatical tracts; Robinson's *England's Safety*; and others. See Webster, *Utopian Planning*, p. 37.

⁸⁸ Spinka, pp. 74-78. Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning*, p. 35, says there is no evidence he was officially invited, though Hartlib had much support. Young, pp. 25-51, publishes a fragment of Comenius's diary from the visit to England that lists the supporters for the scheme for a Baconian "Universal College": Dr. John Williams (Bishop of Lincoln), Archbishop Ussher, John Selden, John Pym, Robert Greville (Lord Brooke), Sir Cheney Culpeper (a wealthy Kentish landowner).

⁸⁹ Though *Via Lucis* was written in 1641, it was not published until 1668 (in Amsterdam). The key part of Comenius's plan from that work however was well known - e.g., among the Hartlib Papers (SUL H 7.66.1a-4b) is a transcription of chapter XVII, titled "Collegii Universalis Forma."

In this work Comenius made clear that *pansophia* was a plan to spread the light of wisdom to all peoples and so propagate the Gospel. He outlined four instruments to implement this scheme: universal books, universal schools, a universal college, and universal language. Comenius proposed three kinds of books, whose summary form would save many hours of labor: *pansophia*, *panhistoria*, and *pandogmatica*. These would be the “perfect and true lamps of universal light.”⁹⁰ An initiative to realize this first instrument was already underway through Hartlib’s efforts (via Hübner and others).⁹¹ The fame of *Via Lucis* stems largely from his calls for an international research college, an alliance among the learned throughout Europe. This *collegium lucis* would be an epistolary society along the lines proposed by Andreae. Every European nation would maintain a number of gifted men as fellows without imposing definite duties on them. They would live in their home province but would be accessible to one another through *correspondency*—Hartlib’s pet concept. All new work was to be tested as proposed by Bacon:

whenever it is granted to any man to perceive any part of a more intimate mystery, he will not at his own discretion bruit it abroad, but will communicate it to his brethren so that the truth of what he has discovered may be established by fit and proper tests, and so whatever God has given may be carried into the common treasuries of common knowledge for the profitable and wholesome use of mankind.⁹²

A president would direct the efforts of the college by receiving and disseminating the fellows’ reports. Fellows would also oversee education in their home countries and report annually on conditions there. This collegiate society would be centered in England to commemorate Drake’s five circumnavigations and Bacon’s reform of the sciences. Though inspired by Solomon’s House, Comenius also regarded the *collegium lucis* as a religious foundation, “bound by the ties of sacred laws,” whose goal was not simply science but the propagation of light in the world—especially among the Jews, Mos-

⁹⁰ Comenius, *The Way of Light*, trans. E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1938), p. 160.

⁹¹ Comenius reported in a letter “Ad amicos Lesznae in Polonia agentes,” 8/18 October 1641, from London, that a very learned man N. Harrison, had collected a catalogue of some 60,000 authors in preparation of the pansophic textbooks; ed. Adolf Patera, *Jana Amosa Komenského Korrespondence* (Prague, 1892), pp. 39-40.

⁹² *The Way of Light*, p. 175.

lems, and other non-Christian peoples.⁹³

Just as the war on the continent had thwarted the attempts of Andreae, Jungius, and Pömer, so the outbreak of the Irish war in November and the departure of Charles I from London in January 1642 disheartened Comenius. As a result, the opportunity to pursue *pansophia* in Sweden under the patronage of Louis de Geer became more and more attractive. Before he left England, he formalized his resolve to work with Hartlib and Dury through a "Testament of a Fraternal Bond for Mutual Edification in Advancing the Public Good of Christendom, entered solemnly before God."⁹⁴ Comenius himself drew up this pact, dated 3 March 1642 and signed by Hartlib, Dury, Comenius and one other, who all pledged to meet their general goal of edification by promoting three causes: ecclesiastical peace, the education of Christian youth, and the reformation of the study of true wisdom.⁹⁵ They further agreed to continue to work together and assist one another in all ways. *Fæderis fraterni* formalized a working arrangement that had already been regularized through another document among the Hartlib papers, *Ad excitanda publicè Veritatis et Pacis (hoc est communis salutis) ope Dei Studia*, which was drafted 8 October 1641. It set forth the special duties for each member of the group. The general aims were reforming education and promoting ecclesiastical peace.⁹⁶

Comenius left England on 21 June 1642 for Sweden to work for a national system of lower schools and higher institutions, journeying via Hamburg, where he met with Jungius who supported *pansophia* enthusiastically.⁹⁷ While the *collegium lucis* set forth in *Via*

⁹³ *The Way of Light*, p. 170; see also pp. 175-77.

⁹⁴ *Fæderis fraterni Ad mutuam in publico Christianismi bono promovendo ædificationem sanctè in conspectu Dei initi Tabulæ*. SUL H 7.109.1a-2b; also ed. Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 458-60.

⁹⁵ SUL H 7.109.1b: "1. Per procuracionem Pacis Religiosæ inter dissidentes. 2. per educationem Juventutis Xianæ veri Xianismi scopo magis conformem. 3. per Reformationem studij veræ Sapientiæ, ad quod capassendum publicè alij, hoc præsertim fine excitandi erunt, ut omnes et facilius consuetas mundi vanitates animadvertere, et veras veræ felicitatis vias dilucidè agnoscere, possint."

⁹⁶ Comenius had the task of preparing educational books for the young with Hübner, and Dury was to consult with public figures also with Hübner (SUL H, 7.90.10b): "Et librorum quidem elaboratio maiori ex parte Comenio et Fundanio cedat, auxilia non recusante D. Duræo et Pellæ. Consultationes publicæ omnium sint: maximè tamen Duræi et Fundanij."

⁹⁷ The admiration between Comenius and Jungius was mutual. He later wrote of the influence of Jungius in "Pansophici libri delineatio" (*Opera Didactica Omnia*, p. 426): "Non est nihil, quod Verulamius mirabili suo Organo rerum naturas intime scrutandi

Lucis, in the final analysis, became yet another literary representation of an ideal order, Comenius's letter shows that he still hoped Hartlib would be able to implement it practically.⁹⁸ The indefatigable Hartlib certainly tried.

C. *The Dissemination of Andreae's Utopian Tracts in England*

When the confident mood of 1641 returned at the end of the first Civil War, Hartlib's own stock began to rise. He was granted £100 per annum by Parliament on 25 June 1646 and considered for an Oxford appointment.⁹⁹ Throughout this first decade of the Interregnum, Hartlib had been busy with correlative schemes for the reform of education and the establishment of academies as well as with the early plans for the maintenance of correspondence abroad. Also among his papers is a draft for yet another community, based on a mercantilist economic model.¹⁰⁰ In 1646, Hartlib found someone to carry out a long-standing plan to translate and publish (anonymously) Andreae's influential utopian tracts, the poet John Hall. This translation would be distributed widely in the following decade and seems to have moved many who read it, judging from their comments. It was an auspicious year, for the first English translation of Arndt's *True Christianity* also appeared.¹⁰¹

We know that Hartlib gained possession of his copies of these

modum infallibilem detexit. Et Jungius Saxo Logicae nunc arti ad eam perfectionem deducendae insudans, ut propositionum veritas adstrui, sophismatum deceptiones destrui queant, ea certitudine qua Euclideum quodvis problema apodictice deducitur."

⁹⁸ Comenius wrote Hartlib, 25 May 1646 (SUL H 7.73.1a-5a), asking whether this *collegium* could be still established as part of Chelsea College or Winchester College. Hübner had earlier been sent to Paris in 1642 to meet with Richelieu's secretary about establishing a pansophical college, but the cardinal's untimely death eliminated this possibility.

⁹⁹ Webster, *Utopian Planning*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁰ See Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 50-56, 77-88. See also E. H. Thompson, "In Nomine Dei Omnipotentis!—A Mercantilist College?" (U of Dundee Discussion Papers in Economics, No. 34, 1992).

¹⁰¹ Mr. John Arndt (that famous German divine) *His Book of Scripture. Declaring That every Child of God ought and must 1. Daily die to the old Adam, but to Christ live daily. 2. And be renewed to the Image of God day by day. 3. And in the New-birth live the life of the New Creature* (London, 1646). The translator, who called himself Radulphus Castrensis Antimachivalensis, used a Latin version of the German original. His preface proclaimed the millenarian temper of the age (Sig. ar'-2') and acknowledged the similarity between "these warlike times" and Arndt's (Sig. A8').

tracts from Comenius in the early 1630s and disseminated them among his circle—as for example to Hübner. Furthermore, he had broached the idea of publishing them while Comenius was in London. For, after leaving England for Sweden, Comenius had chanced upon a man, Johann Frensheim, who informed him that Andreae was alive and well (and had not perished in the 1634 fire at Calw as feared). Since Comenius promptly instructed Hartlib that “none of [Andreae’s] writings ought to be edited, he being alive, without consulting him,” the idea of publishing these seminal works must have already been broached.¹⁰²

Hall was born in 1627 at Durham. Instead of entering St. John’s College, Cambridge in his thirteenth year as planned, he stayed home six extra years because of the turmoil of the Civil War. At the library at Durham, he wrote essays in the Baconian manner and acquired modern languages, supported financially by his friend, the poet Thomas Stanley. Though he stayed at Cambridge for little more than a year, he made quite a splash as an undergraduate. Upon matriculation in February 1646 at St. John’s, Hall published right away his *Horæ Vacuæ*, followed by *Poems*, in January 1647, both of which were very well received.¹⁰³ John Davies of Kidwelly, his friend, fellow student at St. John’s, and only biographer, indicated that Hall had an extraordinary memory and was familiar with artificial memory schemes. He also had an interest in chemistry or alchemy (as did many in the Hartlib circle).

He was universally read; but some yeers since had a great itch to be meddling with Chymistry, having gotten together all the Books printed and Manuscripts he could, and hath writ thereof two Books in *Spencer’s* Stanza with his own hand, which I have by me confusedly shuffled together in broken papers.¹⁰⁴

Davies also stated that since Hall was not careful with his manuscripts, half were lost. In London Hall became involved with a pro-Parliamentary crowd. When *Of the Advancement of Learning* (1648)

¹⁰² Letter, Comenius to Hartlib, 13 July 1642, from Amsterdam; ed. Milada Blekastad, *Unbekannte Briefe des Comenius und seiner Freunde, 1641-1661* (Ratingen: Henn, 1976), p. 18: “Nihil itaque eius scriptorum edendum erit ipso vivo et inconsulto.”

¹⁰³ *Cambridge*, II, 286.

¹⁰⁴ “An Account of the Author of this Translation, and his Works,” published with Hall’s posthumous work, *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras* (London, 1657), Sig. a8^r-A3^v, is still the best source for information on Hall. See Sig. b7^r-v and b8^r. Davies also stated that in 1654 he translated Michael Maier’s *Lusus serius* (1616), Sig. b6^r.

came out, he received a pension of £100 *per annum* from the “Councell,” after which time he turned to political writing. The indignities Hall perceived as a *pensioner* may have fueled his anti-monarchical sentiments.¹⁰⁵ He died 1 August 1656, not yet twenty-nine.

Hall met Hartlib in London,¹⁰⁶ probably in the fall of 1646, and they maintained a very regular correspondence from November 1646 until April 1647, when Hall left Cambridge for Gray’s Inn. Twenty-six letters from Hall to Hartlib survive.¹⁰⁷ With an already established literary reputation and an interest in utopianism, Hall was an ideal associate for the Hartlib circle due to his status at Cambridge. The letters make clear that the first task entrusted to Hall was the translation of Andreae’s tracts, which he accomplished with his accustomed celerity. Pleased with the drafts Hall returned, Hartlib pressed him further for translations, but Hall instead found others at Cambridge willing for these labors. While Hall may have genuinely been enthusiastic about furthering *pansophia* in England, which he termed “y^t great designe to [God’s] own glory & y^c good of many,”¹⁰⁸ he also benefitted from his association with Hartlib. When his *Poems* were published in January 1647, Hall had twelve copies sent to Hartlib, who was instructed to shop them around London book sellers.¹⁰⁹ (Hall knew the value of self-promotion: he had sent James Howell a copy of *Hore Vacivæ*, who then published a reply in the 1650 edition of *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*.) Hall also networked with other members of the circle, through Hartlib’s introductions, notably Benjamin Worsley and John Milton; so, the relationship was mutually advantageous.

On 23 November 1646, Hartlib sent Hall manuscript copies of the *Christianæ Societatis Imago* and *Christiani Amoris Dextera Porrecta* to

¹⁰⁵ Davies, Sig. b4^r and b1^v.

¹⁰⁶ Letter, Hall to Hartlib, 4 January 1647, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.9a, indicates they had previously discussed “M^r Plats business” at London.

¹⁰⁷ Hall’s letters to Hartlib are in two bundles of the Hartlib Papers: SUL H 9.10.1a-6b and SUL H 60.14.1a-42b. Twenty-two of these letters were written between 20 November 1646 and late April or early May 1647 from Cambridge; three others are brief notes written from London (either in March 1647 or after May); and one letter was written 8 February 1648 from Gray’s Inn.

¹⁰⁸ Letter, Hall to Hartlib, 14 December 1646, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.3a.

¹⁰⁹ On 15 February 1647, Hall wrote to Hartlib, SUL H 16.14.22a, “M^r Daniel auerrs he de[livered] 12 Poems to y^c mayd. . . . I shold desire some more of y^c books & y^t y^{ou} wold send some to y^c book buiers [that] they may be more Publicq.”

translate.¹¹⁰ Within three weeks, the translation was nearly finished.¹¹¹ (His biographer later reported that Hall composed rapidly, dictating his prose works to an amanuensis: *Of the Advancement of Learning*, for example, was composed in just four mornings.¹¹²) Hall secured for the project the services of the printer to the University of Cambridge, Roger Daniel who had also published Hall's essays. The book that Hall referred to in his letters as "y^e Latin Jewell" went to press on 8 January 1647. Publication of *A Modell of a Christian Society* and *The Right Hand of Christian love offered*, however, was delayed by a dearth of paper; copies were not available for presentation until 26 February 1647.¹¹³ Hartlib had directed Hall to negotiate for one hundred copies as payment, which Hall duly transmitted to London.¹¹⁴ Apparently, this first shipment of books miscarried and more were sent at the end of March.¹¹⁵ At this point Hall decided it would be prudent to buy out the remaining stock, for on 20 April he wrote that "I am now in a design of buying up all y^e Christian Society's of Daniel, if I doe I shall plentifully impart to y^{ou}."¹¹⁶ In his next letter he was able to promise about another hundred copies, from which we can deduce that the press run was small.¹¹⁷

Since Hall was on hand to supervise the printing of these tracts, we must assume their presentation accorded with his wishes. The slender volume (82 pages in an octavo format) appeared almost anonymously, with neither the author nor the translator identified

¹¹⁰ Hall acknowledged receiving the packet in a letter to Hartlib, 7 December 1646, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.1a. Two copies of the *Imago* can be found in the Hartlib papers, SUL H 25.2.1a-15b and SUL H 55.19.2a-11a; there are also two copies of *Dextera Porrecta*, SUL H 25.2.16a-20b and SUL H 55.19.11b-15a. If we can date their acquaintance from Hall's first letter (20 November 1646) and their weekly correspondence thereafter, Hartlib probably tapped Hall for the translations some time in November.

¹¹¹ Hall explained in a letter to Hartlib, 7 December 1646, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.1a-2b, that he would have been finished already but the "miseries of my Country" and his seeing his *Poems* through the press have prevented it.

¹¹² Davies, Sig. b8^v.

¹¹³ See the 8 January 1647 letter, SUL H 60.14.11a-12a; the 25 January 1647 letter, SUL H 60.14.14a-15b; and the 26 February 1647 letter, SUL H 60.14.26a-27b.

¹¹⁴ In the 21 December 1646 letter (SUL H 60.14.5a-6b), Hall reiterated Hartlib's terms; and in the 1 March 1647 letter (SUL H 60.14.7a-8a), Hall forwarded the bulk of the copies.

¹¹⁵ See the 29 March 1647 letter, Hall to Hartlib, from Cambridge, SUL H 9.10.5a-6b.

¹¹⁶ Letter to Hartlib, 20 April 1647, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.33a.

¹¹⁷ Letter to Hartlib, 26 April 1647, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.35a-36b.

(only the initials J. H. were offered). This work would be associated in the minds of its readers with “his honoured friend Mr. S. Hartlib,” to whom it had been dedicated, and Comenius, whose opinion of “*this golden discourse*” was cited in the first sentence of the prefatory letter. Hall later wrote that the work could in fact be regarded as Hartlib’s: “Worthy S^r, Having now obtaind y^e Impression, I cannot but impart some Quantity to you who were the first Author of it.”¹¹⁸ Privileging Hartlib’s name over the author’s or the translator’s was a calculated act, for Hall knew that “many may be drawn In by y^r name y^t will not by Mine.”¹¹⁹ Curiously, in all his letters to Hartlib during this time, Hall never once mentioned Andreae as author of the tracts (he was identified though as author of *Christianopolis*); however, the prefatory letter makes clear that Hall knew of the work’s German origins:

*Your self (who were acquainted with some members of this Society in Germanie) can witnesse tis more than an Idæa; and tis a great deal of pity both that warre discontinued it where it was first instituted: and that it is not again reviv’d among such minds, as have wholly esposed themselves to great and publick endeavours.*¹²⁰

Hall here situated the treatises within their historical context to emphasize their potential as real utopian societies and not just as *Ideas*. He believed that the results of what he called “associated labours” would be obvious in comparison to “sequestred” ones; that the example of the Jesuits’ elite brotherhood had produced enviable results; and that the difficulty of the endeavour should not inhibit others from attempting a “*designe so advantageous to mankind*.”¹²¹ In short, these two tracts were intended to induce a renaissance of the utopian society proposed by Andreae three decades before.

We know that Hall favored associations of this sort; he had closed an early letter to Hartlib with this hope: “I beg y^r Endeau^r for a Society, & y^t we may be gathered in some form together.”¹²² Both promoted the idea. In March 1647, Hartlib used the occasion

¹¹⁸ Letter to Hartlib, 27 April 1647, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.34a.

¹¹⁹ Letter to Hartlib, 14 December 1646, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.3b. These remarks were made in a slightly different context—i.e., the necessity of Hartlib’s writing letters to encourage co-workers—but the understanding of the utility of Hartlib’s name is the same.

¹²⁰ *A Modell of a Christian Society and The Right Hand of Christian love offered*, trans. J[ohn] H[all] (Cambridge, 1647), Sig. A2^v.

¹²¹ *A Modell*, Sig. A3^r–4^r.

¹²² Letter to Hartlib, 11 January 1647, from Cambridge, SUL H 60.14.13b.

of the publication of Andreae's tracts writing to Boyle to commend them, who then asked for copies, which Hall sent with a letter describing his own projects.¹²³ Boyle wrote Hartlib:

Your *Imago Societatis* with a great deal of delight I have perused. . . . The epistle prefixed to the *Imago* is both pithy and to the purpose. . . . *Campanella's Civitas Solis*, and that same *Respublica Christianopolitana*, which [Hall] mentions, will both of them deserve to be taught in our language. Of the *Utopia* he is modelling, though I cannot judge, before it sees the light, yet my expectations will be none of the smallest, if I proportion them to the ingenuity of the author.¹²⁴

Boyle thus began regular contact with Hartlib and a brief exchange with Hall, who sent news of a Cambridge society called the *Essentials* (discussed in chapter six), to gain the support of the wealthy aristocrat, but Boyle felt the plan of the "College" too constraining and the idea was shelved.¹²⁵

The Hall-Hartlib letters also record Hall's involvement in "gleaning together great & honest Spirits, for . . . y^r Great work." He enlisted other Cambridge intellectuals to serve as translators, notably Jeremy Collier, who translated Campanella's *Civitas solis* (though it was never published), and Comenius's *Pansophiae diatyposis*.¹²⁶ Furthermore, he sought a translator for Andreae's *Christianopolis* (a work Hartlib was eager to bring to light).¹²⁷ He played a missionary role in spreading the gospel of *pansophia* by distributing manuscript copies of the work of Comenius and Andreae

¹²³ Letter, Boyle to Hartlib, 19 March 1647, from Stalbridge, in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. Thomas Birch, 6 vols. (London, 1772), I, xxxviii: "Your *Imago Societatis* and *Dextera Amoris*, I have great longings to peruse."

¹²⁴ Letter, Boyle to Hartlib, 8 April 1647, from Stalbridge, *Works*, I, xxxviii.

¹²⁵ In his 8 May 1647 letter to Hartlib, Boyle wrote (*Works*, I, xl-xli): "My sense of his propositions concerning the College I must necessarily suspend, till a more exquisite information of the particulars of his whole design. Only by the by I shall take the freedom to tell you, that though I esteem Mr. Hall very moderate in the point of pecuniary duties, you can scarce be too tender in tasking young collegiates as to the duties of the brain, since they being all of them to be persons of quality and voluntiers, will hardly support with alacrity any thing that savours of constraint."

¹²⁶ *A Pattern of Universal knowledge, shadowing forth the largeness dimension and use of the intended Worke. In an Ichnographical and Orthographical Delineation*, trans. Jeremy Collier (London, 1651). Collier (whose more famous son bore the same name) matriculated at Trinity College in 1641 (B.A. in 1640 and M.A. in 1643); he was made a fellow of St. John's in 1644 (*Cambridge*, I, 372).

¹²⁷ In his *Ephemerides* for 1653 (SUL H 28.2.57a), Hartlib noted that in comparison to the *Utopia*, "Val. Andrea Christianopolis being also a m[ore] Chr[istian] Idæa of a new Comonw[ealth] deserves to be translated."

to Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, and the vice-chancellor at Cambridge, Thomas Hill. Hartlib, moreover, invited Hall to comment on books and ideas then circulating, so we have his opinions on Dury's "Discourse on Correspondency" and Comenius's *De rerum humanarum emendatione Consultatio catholica* (1645). Hall provided information on other societies then being formed, notably the Cambridge *Essentials*, whose members were seeking Hartlib's advice. Numerous other particulars culled from the letters confirm that Hall was actively working at this time for the ideals espoused in *A Modell*.¹²⁸

Hall was influenced in yet another way by utopias such as *Civitas solis* and *Christianopolis*, which he was helping to bring before the English reading public. He himself was at work in February 1647 on a utopian romance called "Leucenia," which had grown to sixty or seventy pages within a few weeks.¹²⁹ Shortly before he left Cambridge for London and Gray's Inn, Hall explained to Hartlib that "My drift is onely this to express an Idea of a Commonwealth & Colledge in a Romance."¹³⁰ The utopian idealism of Andreae and Hartlib had clearly taken root. Hall also wrote to Boyle about "Leucenia," who believed it had much promise. The work, alas, was never finished and subsequently lost. Davies explained that the abrupt switch from the Muses to the law hindered its completion:

But the change being too harsh to be sudden, it was a little delay'd, by which means there was something added to the structure of LEUCENIA, a work begun indeed at Cambridge, yet such, as, had it been finished, might have raised envie in the famous Romancist Monsieur De

¹²⁸ For Collier's translations, see the letters of 14 December 1646 (SUL H 60.14.3a-4b), 15 February 1647 (SUL H 16.14.22a-23b), 23 February 1647 (SUL H 60.14.24a-25b), 1 March 1647 (SUL H 60.14.7a-8a), 29 March 1647 (SUL H 9.10.5a-6b), and 3 May [?] 1647 (SUL H 60.14.39a-40a). For other translators, see the letters of 11 January 1647 (SUL H 60.14.13a-b) and 3 May [?] 1647 (SUL H 60.14.39a-40a). For his Cambridge networking, see the letters of 25 January 1647 (SUL H 60.14.14a-15b), 31 January 1647 (SUL H 60.14.16a-17b), 7 February 1647 (SUL H 60.14.18a-19b), 15 February 1647 (SUL H 60.14.22a-23b), and 13 April 1647 (SUL H 60.14.30a-b). For his own intellectual labors, see the letters of 7 December 1646 (SUL H 60.14.1a-2b) and 2 January 1647 (SUL H 9.10.1a-2b). For the *Essentials*, see the letters of 29 March 1647 (SUL H 9.10.5a-6b) and 13 April 1647 (SUL H 60.14.30a-31b).

¹²⁹ Letter, Hall to Hartlib, 15 February 1647, from Cambridge, SUL H 16.14.22a: "I haue been about wth him to translate Campanella's Civitas Solis. My self am now employd about Leuccenia a peice y^e way." See also the letter of 1 March 1647 (SUL H 60.14.7b).

¹³⁰ Letter, Hall to Hartlib, Monday [3 May? 1647], SUL H 60.14.39b.

Scudary. But the dis-ingenuity of some friend, who borrowed it for the reading in Manuscript, hath smothered that Embrio, never offering either to return or acknowledge it.¹³¹

After a spell in Gray's Inn, Hall turned to political writing and evidently lost interest in this kind of project. He enjoyed only a modest association with Hartlib, as his final letter would indicate.¹³² He is last mentioned in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* in the Autumn of 1652.

About this same time, Hartlib was also tirelessly campaigning on behalf of the Office of Address, perhaps the best known of his many projects.¹³³ In 1647 Hartlib published *Considerations tending to the Happy Accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State*, proposing a clearing house for intellectual advancements, which he called the Office of Address. Though Théophraste Renaudot's Bureau d'Adresse in Paris was clearly the model, Hartlib's developed naturally out of his earlier cataloguing projects on behalf of *pansophia* and his regular correspondence with the learned.¹³⁴ The following year another work appeared, from Dury no doubt, that recommended Hartlib as "Superintendent General" of this office, a task for which Hartlib was ideally suited. Throughout his life, he had managed just such an information network from his house, as the more than twenty-five thousand pages of extant manuscripts in the Hartlib Papers at the University of Sheffield now silently attest.

Unable to convince Parliament to fund the Office of Address, he promoted other projects to accomplish the *great instauration*. He advocated reestablishing an intellectual center at Chelsea College in London, which had been founded in 1607 as a bulwark against Roman Catholicism by facilitating study and writing on controversial issues for its twenty fellows.¹³⁵ Anecdotal evidence indicates that

¹³¹ Davies, Sig. b2^r.

¹³² Letter, Hall to Hartlib, 8 February 1648, from Gray's Inn, SUL H 60.14.20a: "Worthy S^r. It hath been an inspeakable greife unto me, That I haue been for these few Months (many I may iustly esteem y^m) debarrd of the happines of y^r Correspondence by reason of my many employments & negociations w^{ch} I cold not wthout prejudice avoyd."

¹³³ For a thorough discussion, see Turnbull, *HDC*, pp. 77-88; and Webster, *The Great Instauration*, pp. 67-77.

¹³⁴ Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 80, shows that Renaudot's work served as the basis for sections of *A Further Discovery*. Hartlib was also interested in reports that the French crown had made £15,000 a year from the Bureau d'Adresse.

¹³⁵ Hartlib proposed in *Spiritual Husbandman*, pp. 37-38: "That the Foundation of Chelsy-Colledge may be confirmed, raised, and enlarged for the Design of a Publick Cen-

Cromwell, had he assumed kingship, planned to establish a Protestant council and center for correspondence at Chelsea College – essentially Hartlib’s plan.¹³⁶ Hartlib lobbied, furthermore, for a London university that would consist of separate colleges for husbandry, oriental languages, mechanics, and so forth—including one for “Verulamian or Experimental Philosophia” – to be established at the former houses of Anglican bishops.¹³⁷ After Cromwell founded Durham College (modeled on Eton College and granted letters of patent in 1657), Hartlib was made a member of the Parliamentary committee appointed to prepare its statutes; he was even able to obtain posts for some of his associates.¹³⁸

Hartlib’s daybooks amply document his interest, as he stayed abreast of the myriad efforts of those who were contributing to the *great instauration*. In the 1650s, a number of groups featuring scientific research combined with utopianism, flourished in the seedbed that had been so richly cultivated by Hartlib. To these we now turn.

tre of good Intelligence, and a Correspondency with forreign Protestant Churches in the Cause of Religion and Learning.”

¹³⁶ Bishop Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1833), I, 141–42, reported that Jean Baptiste Stoupe, an agent of Cromwell, said Cromwell had planned “to set up a council for the protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it would consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces. . . . The secretaries were to have £500 salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world. . . . Chelsea college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building that had been at first raised to be a college for [a design not much unlike this]”; quoted by Spinka, p. 88.

¹³⁷ Among the Hartlib Papers is a bundle (SUL H 47.9.1–38) containing sketchy notes for various educational schemes, including Winchester, Oxford, Chelsea, and Gresham, and a proposed London University. See SUL H 47.9.17b for the Baconian experimental college. See also Webster, *The Great Instauration*, pp. 548–51.

¹³⁸ Ezerell Tonge, Thomas Vaughan [not the brother of the Silurist], Robert Wood, and Johann Sibertus Küffeler, all of whom had interests in alchemy and “natural philosophy.” Tonge was even considered for the mastership of the college. See G. H. Turnbull, “Oliver Cromwell’s College at Durham,” *Durham Research Review* 3 (1952):1–6; and Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning*, p. 62.

CHAPTER SIX

UTOPIAN & LEARNED SOCIETIES IN ENGLAND IN THE 1650S

To conclude, I would have *my Reader* know, that the Philosophers *finding* this *life* subjected to *Necessitie*, and that *Necessity* was *inconsistant* with the *Nature* of the *Soul*, they did therefore look upon *Man*, as a Creature *originally ordained* for some *better State* then the present, for *this* was not agreeable with his *spirit*. This *thought* made them seek the *Ground* of his *Creation*, that if possible, they might take hold of *Libertie*, and transcend the *Dispensations* of that *Circle*, which they *Mysteriously* cal'd *Fate*. Now what this *really signifies* not *one in ten thousand* knows, and yet *we* are *all Philosophers*.

Advertisement to the Reader,
The Fame & Confession of the Fraternity of R: C: (1652)

Of the Antilian Society the smoke is over, but the fire is not altogether extinct. It may be it will flame in due time, though not in Europe.

Hartlib to Worthington, 1661 letter

The last decade of the Interregnum was one of the most intellectually turbulent in early modern England, with more treatises on chemistry, natural magic, and hermeticism appearing than in the entire century before. In addition, thirty-four utopian works appeared throughout Europe during the 1650s, including a continuation of Bacon's *New Atlantis* (dedicated to Charles II) by "R. H.," who extolled the virtues of episcopacy, monarchy, and the law but also celebrated, in a central episode, the triumphal elevation of an inventor into the Fraternity of Solomon's House. The gospel according to Bacon—national prosperity through scientific discoveries and inventions—was thus made widely available again.¹ During this same decade, projectors, as they were at times called, devised numerous schemes for advancing learning. While the utopian brotherhoods or learned societies formed by men who were in some way

¹ *New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban's: and Continued by R. H. Esquire. Wherein is Set forth a Platform of Monarchical Government* (London 1660), was probably written by Richard Haines. For utopian works published in that decade, see Glenn Negley, *Utopian Literature: A Bibliography* (Lawrence: Regents P of Kansas, 1977), p. 224.

associated with the Hartlib circle is the main subject of this chapter, a brief account of these other schemes will help contextualize their activities.

Since the story of the Royal Society's origins has made the name of the Oxford *Experimental Philosophicall Clubbe* already prominent, we can deal succinctly with that society.² About 1645 John Wallis, John Wilkins, and Samuel Foster, the Gresham Professor of Astronomy, began to meet weekly with others at Gresham College or a nearby tavern to discuss scientific experiments. These meetings continued in London, but Wallis and Wilkins returned to Oxford about 1649, where the first scientific organization in England was formed at Wadham College. The Oxford *Experimental Philosophicall Clubbe* had formal regulations, maintained a laboratory for experiments, and kept minutes.³ Hartlib, as we would expect, kept abreast of the Oxford "Club-men" through William Petty, who told him that they were making "Medullas of all Authors in reference to Experimental Learning" and a catalogue of the Oxford library.⁴ Prominent members included Seth Ward, Ralph Bathurst, Petty, and Boyle. The nucleus of the Royal Society (formally constituted on 28 November 1660 at Gresham College) was drawn from the Oxford and Gresham groups.

Because the so-called *Invisible College*, which provided the initiation into science for the nineteen-year old Boyle, had utopian aspirations, it is worth noting a few of its salient features even though its history is well known.⁵ Boyle first mentioned this *collegium* in a letter to his former tutor, then in Geneva. He wrote that he was devoting his energies to "natural philosophy, the mechanics, and husbandry, according to the principles of our new philosophical

² One can begin with Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*. For more balanced accounts, see R. H. Syfret, "The Origins of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 5 (1947):75-137; Marie Boas Hall, "Sources for the History of the Royal Society in the Seventeenth Century," *History of Science* 5 (1966):62-76; Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967); and Charles Webster, "The Origins of the Royal Society," *History of Science* 6 (1967):106-28.

³ For their regulations, see Bodleian Library MS, Ashmole 1810. Hartlib, *Ephemerides* (1653), SUL H 28.2.78b, noted "They are now erecting a Colledge for Experiments of Mechanicks at Oxf[ord] towards w^{ch} Dr Wilkins hath given 200 lb."

⁴ *Ephemerides* (1651), SUL H 28.2.5b; 28.2.6b.

⁵ For an account that clarifies the many errors surrounding this group, see Charles Webster, "New Light on the Invisible College: The Social Relations of English Science in the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1974):19-42.

college, that values no knowledge, but as it hath a tendency to use." He then invited his tutor to bring "what good receipts or choice books of any of these subjects you can procure; which will make you extremely welcome to our *invisible college*."⁶ Beginning in the late summer of 1646, the group pursued a practical, Baconian research program.⁷ The meetings of these enthusiasts centered around Benjamin Worsley's laboratory and the London home of Boyle's sister, Lady Ranelagh.

While Webster believes that their "invisibility" referred to the group's unsettled fortunes and obligations outside London, the name seems a rather obvious play on the reputed "invisible college" of the Rosicrucians.⁸ Since we know that Boyle admired Andreae's utopian tracts, Hartlib having sent him copies of Hall's translations, Boyle's idealism may have been nurtured by Andreae firsthand.⁹ Boyle, of course, corresponded with the *virtuosi* of Europe, including Jungius, a copy of whose *Leges Collegii Protonoetici* he possessed. From a copy of Worsley's "Profits humbly presented to this Kingedome" found among the Hartlib Papers (SUL H 53.32.1a-7b), we can understand how the enrichment of England through the activities of the *Invisible College* would promote its utopian goals. After outlining the various economic strategies to pursue (such as producing saltpeter and improving husbandry, fishing, and the wool trade), Worsley concluded:

If to this wealth and honour thus feasibly to bee attained shall bee annexed a Reformation of laws & an establishm^t of righteousness amongst us, then to these may wee yet promis to ourselves more glorious thinges as First a Propagation of the Gospell . . . 2^{dly} a Reformation of Education . . . 3^{dly} Advancement of Learning by men appointed & maintained to keep an Universall Correspondencie by erecting Treasure= Houses for the collection off the History of nature, for experiments both chymicall and Mechanicall and by increasing of choice and Public Libraries. 4^{thly} endeavouring the Conversion of the Jewes . . . 5^{ly} The

⁶ Letter, Boyle to Isaac Marcombes, 22 October 1646, in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. Thomas Birch, 6 vols. (London, 1772), I, xxxiv.

⁷ In the *Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy* (London, 1658, but largely written c. 1647, according to his preface), Boyle argued that we should follow Bacon's advice of compiling histories of trade and nature (and abandon the disdain for the mechanic arts).

⁸ Webster, "New Light," p. 33.

⁹ For Boyle's praise, see the letter to Hartlib, 8 April 1647, from Stalbridge, *Works*, I, xxxviii.

endeavouring an Union and reconciliation throughout all the Christian at least all the Protestant Churches.¹⁰

Boyle's earliest published work, in which he argued against secrecy in science, *An Epistolical Discourse . . . inviting all true lovers of Vertue and Mankind, to a free and generous Communication of their Secrets and Receits in Physick* (1655), was printed in a collection edited by Hartlib.¹¹ Such thinking coincided strikingly with Hartlib's passion for putting knowledge to the service of humankind. These men were "absorbed" into the Hartlib circle in the 1650s (though Boyle, who took residence at Oxford in 1654 where he joined the "Club-men," moved in other circles as well).¹²

At Cambridge, a society named the *Essentials*, with some claim to the title of learned, formed about this same time. What we know of its existence derives from Hall's letters to Boyle and Hartlib: "some Gent: are gathring an Academy for Ingenuitys of humane learning. & one of them came wth me [to London on a recent visit to Hartlib] to craue y^r advise & assistance. I shall after direct him to y^{ou} & satisfy y^{ou} the next week fully of the project."¹³ Hall later made a full report on the *Essentials*, the text of which may be found in Appendix C. The name of this society probably derived from the *Academ Roial* of Edmund Bolton who had studied at Cambridge: in Bolton's proposed academy, the class composed of the *virtuosi* were called the "Essentials" (as opposed to the two classes for aristocrats). The Cambridge *Essentials* were quite conscious of noble ancestry and "coatarmour" but were equally cognizant of the obligation to serve "y^e Politique or Literary Republickes" and "y^e commonwealth of Learning." Each member was required to offer discourses on personally important subjects that were to be published. The fact that the only topics specifically mentioned were horsemanship and fencing further links the *Essentials* to Bolton's aristocratic academy. Not much else is known of them, nor was there further mention in the Hall-Hartlib correspondence of the

¹⁰ Worsley, SUL H 53.32.7a-b. This tract was probably written in 1647.

¹¹ See Margaret E. Rowbottom, "The Earliest Published Writing of Robert Boyle," *Annals of Science* 6 (1948-1950):376-98.

¹² Webster, "New Light," p. 42.

¹³ Letter, Hall to Hartlib, 29 March 1647, [from St. Johns, Cambridge], SUL H 9.10.5a. Twenty-six letters of Hall's letter can be found in the Hartlib Papers: SUL H 9.10.1a-6b; SUL H 60.14.1a-42b. Boyle's letter to Hartlib, 8 May 1647, *Works*, I, xl-xli, makes clear that he knew about the *Essentials* through Hall.

Cantabrigian who wanted Hartlib's advice and assistance.

At the end of the decade with the potential for royal patronage imminent, many were preoccupied with designing the best model for a scientific society. Not all of the proposals still seem reasonable: the mining engineer Thomas Bushell (1594-1674), formerly a page to Bacon, for example, proposed in 1659 that a "select society of philosophers" be used to mine treasures in Wells, Somerset; their task would be to oversee a convict labor force and protect them from the subterranean spirits safeguarding the treasure.¹⁴ John Evelyn proposed a resident philosophical *collegium* that resembled a monastery (much like the one envisioned by the Baltic Antilians). He wanted to purchase forty acres near London and create a campus with "apartments or cells" for the members—"somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians." He envisioned disciplined scholars living in rather Spartan conditions with regular prayer, work, fasting, and study with weekly progress reports. He pledged five hundred pounds of his own and hoped to interest Boyle in joining him as co-leader.¹⁵ When Hartlib heard of these plans, he likewise sent Evelyn a copy of Andreae's tracts (4 February 1660). In 1661 Abraham Cowley published a *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy* for a "philosophical college" to aid learning by Baconian examination and testing. Situated only a mile or two outside London, his research institute would have twenty philosophers or professors with sixteen younger scholars as assistants, who would require both a large staff and an annual budget of four thousand pounds. Professors would be assigned a particular field of inquiry; profits from research would be shared, with a third going to the inventor and two-thirds to the society. Meetings would be held weekly and the fruits of their labors would be published in Latin every three years. Hartlib rightly predicted that such centralized control would not be readily accepted by the *virtuosi*: "I hear nothing of Dr. Cowley's Design of a Philosophical College. I apprehend the Society meeting at Gresham College is too wise to be thus publickly directed."¹⁶

¹⁴ Keith Thomas, "The Utopian Impulse in Seventeenth-Century England," *Costerus* NS 61 (1987):34.

¹⁵ Letter, Evelyn to Boyle, 3 September 1659, from Sayes Court, *Works*, V, 397-99.

¹⁶ Letter, Hartlib to John Worthington, 26 August 1661, in *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, ed. James Crossley and Richard Copley Christie, 3 vols.

At this time several men, well known to Hartlib and loosely associated with him, embarked on utopian projects that were very much accordant with Hartlib's own lifelong efforts for peace and prosperity. At the beginning of the decade, Thomas Henshaw and Thomas Vaughan founded an alchemical research *collegium* that had definite affinities with the utopian societies inspired by Andreae. About that same time, Vaughan also made the first English translation of the Rosicrucian manifestos available. Both appear to have been inspired by the enthusiasm of Hartlib and his circle for utopian idealism and experimental science, an enthusiasm at least nurtured by the writings of Andreae whose descendants in some sense they can be considered. At the end of the decade a Swedish diplomat arrived at London with a plan for a *collegium* certainly influenced by Andreae and Comenius. So, too, did the persistent, yet elusive Antilians make their final appearance. The emergence of these utopian and learned societies in England during the 1650s is the subject of this chapter.

A. *Henshaw and Vaughan's* Christian Learned Society

About 1650 Thomas Henshaw and Thomas Vaughan formed an association of fellow chemists and utopianists that was called the *Christian Learned Society*. Some of the fellows lived together in the village of Kensington on the outskirts of London. Dedicated to devotion and study, they conducted scientific experiments and undertook editorial and translation projects for the advancement of learning. While no evidence directly links this alchemical research *collegium* with those utopian societies inspired by Andreae, the parallels are striking enough to invite comparison.

Henshaw (1618-1700), one of the founding fellows of the Royal Society, was born in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry but lived most of his life at the ancient manor of West Town in Kensington, which his father Benjamin Henshaw, a captain of the City of London, had leased from the owners of nearby Holland House. The manor house was also called Pondhouse or Moathouse, because close by were some large fish ponds "intersected with grand walks"

Chetham Society, 13, 36, 114 (Manchester: Charles Simms, 1847, 1855, 1886), I, 366.

and the islands in the middle of the ponds were connected by wooden bridges.¹⁷ It stood northeast of the present church of St. Barnabas in Addison Road, probably on what is now Oakwood Court.¹⁸ From 1634 to 1638 Henshaw studied at University College, Oxford, where he was also tutored by the famed mathematician William Oughtred.¹⁹ He then entered the Middle Temple but left off his legal career at the outbreak of hostilities.²⁰ Henshaw and Vaughan could have met as early as 1638 at Oxford, and some have speculated that they were comrades in arms for the king. While the list of captains taken at Rowton Heath, 24 September 1645, included the names Vaughan and Henshaw,²¹ it seems unlikely they were imprisoned together. In Henshaw's own account of his life for the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, he indicated that he had joined the king at York (January to September 1642) and was taken prisoner upon his return to London to outfit himself with money and arms. Given the gentleman's option of pledging not to fight again or being confined for the duration, he travelled on the continent (from 1644-1645 with Evelyn in Italy). Henshaw returned "a little before the Kgs murder" and was called to the bar (24 November 1654), but confessed that "my long absence and y^e sowre complexion of y^e times quite discouraged me from y^e practice of that profession."²² Henshaw had a small income from his family,²³ and ac-

¹⁷ Thomas Faulkner, *History and Antiquities of Kensington* (London, 1820), p. 176. Though the earl of Holland reserved use of the fishponds, Henshaw was granted rights to a pond called Ladywell; see PRO E 214/322 (draft of the 1666 lease) and E 214/796 (1687 lease). The house appears quite clearly on the 1769 edition of the maps of John Rocque and on the 1770 Haynes Survey (in the Kensington Library).

¹⁸ Demolished in 1801, its remains were converted into a gardener's cottage. See *Survey of London: Volume XXXVII, Northern Kensington*, F. H. W. Sheppard, ed. (London: Athlone Press, 1973), p. 103; and Stephen Pasmore, "Thomas Henshaw and the Manor of West Town, Kensington, in the Seventeenth Century," *Annual Report of the Kensington Society* (1964-1965):30-35.

¹⁹ *Oxford*, I, 694; he did not take a degree. See also K. Theodore Hoppen, "The Nature of the Early Royal Society," *British Journal for the History of Science* 9 (1976):243-46.

²⁰ Henshaw matriculated on 21 April 1638, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, 3 vols. (London, Middle Temple, 1949), I, 135.

²¹ Thomas Willard, "The Life and Works of Thomas Vaughan," Diss. U of Toronto 1978, p. 31.

²² Letter, Henshaw to Anthony Wood, 21 June 1693, Bodleian Library MS, Ashmole Wood S.C. 25216, fol. 181; ed. by Stephen Pasmore, "Thomas Henshaw, F. R. S. (1618-1700)," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 36 (1982):177-80. In this letter to Wood, Henshaw stated that his brother, Major Nathaniel Henshaw, and a cousin named Thomas Henshaw were both soldiers. One of these men may have been captured at Rowton.

cording to the memorial tablet along the nave of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, had married an heiress, Anne Kipping of Twedley, Kent (d. 1671). He was thus able to devote himself to the pursuit of experimental chemistry.

Thomas Vaughan (1621-1666) was widely known in his time as an apologist for the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, writer on occult topics, and alchemist.²⁴ Thomas, according to Anthony Wood, was “educated in Grammar Learning in his own Country for six Years under one *Matthew Herbert* a noted Schoolmaster of his time.” Destined as a younger brother for the church, he prepared himself for the priesthood at Jesus College, Oxford, where he “was put under the tuition of a noted tutor; by whose lectures profiting much, he took one degree in arts.”²⁵ He may also have been made a fellow.²⁶ Installed as rector at Llansantffraid (St. Bride’s or Bridget’s in English) about 1645, he served only a few years before being evicted for having borne arms for the king.²⁷ He then returned to Oxford to pursue his true vocation. According to Wood, “in a sedate repose,” he “prosecuted his medicinal geny, (in a manner natural to him) and at length became eminent in the chymical part thereof at Oxon, and afterwards at London.”²⁸ From that time forth, he devoted himself to “the Acquisition of some naturall secrets, to which I had been disposed from my youth.”²⁹ After a few years at Oxford,

²³ Henshaw, in a letter to Sir John Clayton at Oxnead, 29 August 1671, Norfolk Record Office MS, Bradfer-Lawrence, 1c/1, stated that he had about £200 a year from his father.

²⁴ The best biography of Thomas is still found in F. E. Hutchinson’s *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1947). See also Alan Rudrum’s “Biographical Introduction” in *The Works of Thomas Vaughan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), pp. 1-31. References to Vaughan’s writings are to this edition (cited as *Works*).

²⁵ Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 3rd ed., 4 vols. (facsimile rpt. of London, 1813-1820; New York and London: Johnson, 1967), III, 722. He entered Jesus College on 4 May 1638 and matriculated on 14 December 1638; he took his B.A. degree on 18 February 1642, *Oxford*, IV, 1538.

²⁶ *Oxford*, IV, 1538, lists him as a fellow (and a “Rosicrucian”); and Henry Vaughan, in a letter to Aubrey, 15 June 1673, reported that his brother was a fellow and stayed for ten or twelve years (taking the M.A.), but no records to support these claims. See *Aubrey’s Brief Lives*, ed. O. L. Dick (London: Martin Secker, 1949; Penguin, 1972), p. 356.

²⁷ Hutchinson, p. 92. He fought with a Breconshire regiment of horse at Rowton Heath near Chester, 24 September 1645, and was taken prisoner after the royalist defeat.

²⁸ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, III, 722.

²⁹ “Aqua Vitæ,” BL MS, Sloane 1741, fol. 105^v; *Works*, p. 588. After the Restoration he never sought reinstatement once he discovered his true life’s work in alchemical

Vaughan moved to London and lived with Henshaw at Kensington (most likely from 1649 until Vaughan's marriage in September 1651, perhaps even until Vaughan returned briefly to Wales in 1653).³⁰ Both Henshaw and Vaughan began to move along the fringe of one of the liveliest intellectual circles in London, that of Hartlib, who fortunately recorded their progress in his *Ephemerides*. When we consider all they undertook—a catalogue, various translation projects, the *collegium*—it is clear that they were imbued with a spirit similar to Hartlib's. Utopianism and alchemy share, after all, the same fundamental belief in radical transformation and perfectibility.

Most of what is known of Henshaw and Vaughan's *Christian Learned Society* derives from the daybooks of Hartlib, who was always alert to scientific news and to potential recruits. In December 1649, a mutual friend, the American physician Dr. Robert Child, introduced Henshaw to Hartlib, praising him as a "universal Schollar" and "Experimental Philosopher":

One Hinshaw about Kensington a Gentl[man] of 2. or 300. a y[ear] a universal Schollar and pretty communicativ. Hee pretends to have the Alchahest or a true dissolvent. Is skilled in the Coptical Language. Exercises hims[elf] in Chymistry. Brought over an Excellent Historie of China in Ital[ian] wherein are the Annual Letters of the Jesuits. w^{ch} is worthy to bee translated. Hee is to bee ranked in the number of Experimental Philosophers. Hee hath a good Optical Glasse and kn[ows] one that hath one wherein you use both your eyes. Hee hath a number of MS.³¹

Henshaw's claim (about which Hartlib was dubious) to possess the *alkahest*, or universal solvent, of prepared mercury, which had the power to convert elemental matter into *prima materia*, makes it quite clear that he was a practicing alchemist, though we should also note how easily this rests among his other intellectual interests—i.e., optical instruments, the history of China, the Coptic language, and collecting manuscripts. He was a "very intimate friend" of Elias

research.

³⁰ An "intercepted letter" included among the Thurloe Papers from Vaughan to his cousin Charles Roberts at Gray's Inn, dated Ash-Wednesday 1653, from Newton, indicates his presence in Wales. See E. K. Chambers, ed., *Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1896), II, xxxvi.

³¹ *Ephemerides* (1649), SUL H 28.1.37a. This entry was made some time in December, since the following one (on the visit of Dr. Bates of Cambridge) was dated 15 December 1649.

Ashmole, who labelled him “extraordinary *Learned*, and a great *Ornament* of our *Nation*.”³² Shortly thereafter, Hartlib entertained Henshaw at his Duke Street residence for the first of many visits.

The 30. of Jan. 1650. M^r Hinshaw of Kensington was at my House with D^r Child the first time to see Hevel. Selen. [Johann Hevelius’s *Selenographia*] sent to the Univ. of Oxf[ord]. His Father is dead a great chymist and so is his Mother who is yet alive. Hee keeps there a Laboratorie and is not shy to ackn[owledge] to haue the Alchahest: Kircherus p[ro]mised to make mention of him in his Thesaurus Copticus.³³

It is interesting to note that his parents (like Andreae’s) were also experimental chemists and that he had already set up his own laboratory. Within a few months Henshaw had recruited a German *laborator*—Germans were considered the most advanced practitioners in Europe—and Vaughan’s presence at the old manor house at Kensington was noted.³⁴

Throughout the next decade, Henshaw reported regularly to Hartlib, especially in 1650 when Hartlib recorded ten noteworthy visits, during which various topics were discussed, such as a company that crafted “Instruments for making of Parabolical-Conical Section-Glasses of Perspective,” a book on silk worms, or Kircher’s curious “Weather-glasse that gaue a sound by a little Bell as often as the degrees did wane.”³⁵ He also noted that Vaughan “intimates sufficiently that hee understands or must have its[elf] the Menstruum Univ[ersale] by those Secrets wch M^r Boyle know’s of it.”³⁶ Of particular interest are Child’s reports that a research *collegium* these experimental chemists had formed:

³² Elias Ashmole, ed., *The Way to Bliss* (London, 1658), Sig. A3^v. Ashmole was praising the one who got the manuscript for him; from other sources we know this was Henshaw (see note 93).

³³ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.43b. The astronomer Hevelius sent Hartlib a copy of *Selenographia* to give to the Bodleian Library; see his letter to Hartlib, 22 August 1650, SUL H 49.16.3.

³⁴ *Ephemerides* (c. May 1650), SUL H 28.1.58b: “One Vaughan of Oxf[ord] is the Author of Anthroposophia who for some y[ears] hath tried Chymical or Physical Conclusions. Hee now lives with Hinshaw at Kingsington where they lay their heads and hands together to see w^t they can produce.” The house was leased from the Earl of Holland, and Henshaw seems to have lived there from 1650; see Pasmore, “Thomas Henshaw, F.R.S.,” p. 177.

³⁵ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.46a; 28.1.61a; 28.1.68b.

³⁶ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.83b.

Hinshaw is about to put in practise a Model of [Chri]stian Learned Society in joining him[s]elf with 6. other friends of his owne familiars[,] men of qualities and competencies, that will have all in comon, dedicating them[s]elves wholly to devotion and studies and separating them[s]elves from the World by leading a severe life for diet apparel. etc.; Their dwelling-house to bee about 6. or 7. miles from London; They will have a Laboratorie and strive to doe all the good they can to their neighbourhood.³⁷

About six miles west of Angel Court, near Charing Cross where Hartlib was then living, stood Henshaw's house, undoubtedly the site designated in this report.³⁸ Hartlib usually referred to this society as the *Chymical Club*, but his describing their efforts as putting into practice a "Model of Christian Learned Society" established a lineage with Andreae. Be that as it may, Henshaw and Vaughan's *collegium* resembled the *Societas Ereunetica* or *Antilia* far more than the *Societas Christiana*, because they lived and worked collegiately, observed a spare lifestyle, and devoted themselves to the commonweal. In fact, a further report on their goals revealed that this learned society could be considered a kind of pansophical college whose goals were gathering and disseminating knowledge, the sort of society for which Hartlib and Comenius had lobbied so extensively.

D^r Ch[ild] is endeavouring to forme a Chymical Club with Hinshaw. Webbe, Vaughan etc. 1. to collect all Engl[ish] Phil[osophical] Books or other Chymists. 2. all MS. 3. to translate and publish them in one Volume. 4. to make all Philos[ophers] acquainted one with another and to oblige them to mutual communications.³⁹

Hartlib's friend, the physician Robert Child (1613-1654), was involved in the group until he left for Ireland in the spring of 1651. Child was born in New England but educated at Leiden and Padua; he left America in 1647 for London. His interests were as diverse as Hartlib's, with Child acting as the source of information for Hartlib on such matters as agriculture, animal husbandry, and chemistry—all with an eye toward profitability and economic prosperity for England.⁴⁰ His role in the *Chymical Club* seems mainly that

³⁷ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.65a.

³⁸ Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 20.

³⁹ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.61b.

⁴⁰ See George Lyman Kittredge, "Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant," *Publications*

of an observer; from Ireland he later wrote Hartlib asking whether Henshaw's "college" still went on.⁴¹

The identities of six of the seven initial members of the *collegium* can be determined from the *Ephemerides*. In addition to Henshaw, Vaughan, and Child were a little known alchemist named Webbe and two prominent academicians, Obadiah Walker and Abraham Woodhead, who were formative influences on Henshaw at Oxford and both recently ejected (1648) from fellowships by parliamentary visitors. Henshaw had shared rooms with Woodhead for two years at University College.

A dyer and brewer by trade, Webbe was apparently well regarded as an alchemist, of whose experiments Hartlib had heard as early as 1648;⁴² Webbe's later successes were also noted.⁴³ Furthermore, we know from Child that Webbe was then lodging with a fellow alchemist named George Starkey, one of the most colorful personalities of the time, who was also a member of the Hartlib circle from 1650-1653.⁴⁴ No evidence suggests that Starkey was involved with Henshaw's society other than the connection through Webbe; in fact, Boyle's remark that Starkey was preparing a refutation of Vaughan's work argues to the contrary.⁴⁵ Though this refutation is no longer extant, we can speculate about its direction since fundamental methodological differences separated the two. As a follower of Jan Baptiste van Helmont, Starkey held that all the elements originated from water, while Vaughan, who adhered to the tradition of Agrippa and Michael Sendivogius, reduced all to "ele-

of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 21 (1919):1-146; and G. H. Turnbull, "Robert Child," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 38 (1947-1951):21-53.

⁴¹ Letter, Child to Hartlib, 2 February 1653, from Lisneygarvey; cited by Turnbull, "Robert Child," p. 42.

⁴² *Ephemerides* (1648), SUL H 31.22.5a: "M^r Webbe the Dyer hath an Experim^t or Secret How by way of melting only of Lead to Separate all better metals from it. w^{ch} he told M^r Hamilt[on]."

⁴³ *Ephemerides* (1653), SUL H 28.2.73b: "Webbe goeth on prosperously in his op[e]rations." This report came from Hartlib's son-in-law Frederick Clodius, also an alchemist. Hartlib recorded in 1653 that Webbe was making beer out of beans (SUL H 28.2.73b).

⁴⁴ See R. S. Wilkinson, "George Starkey, Physician and Alchemist," *Ambix* 11 (1963):121-52, and "The Hartlib Papers and Seventeenth-Century Chemistry, Part Two," *Ambix* 17 (1970):85-110; and William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, An American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994).

⁴⁵ *Ephemerides* (1651), SUL H 28.2.7b: "Hee [Starkey, marginal note] is about to refute Vaughan as likewise to translate a Chymical Booke into Engl. out of Latine."

mental earth" by using *sal nitrum*. Moreover, as William R. Newman has recently discovered, Starkey believed Vaughan had cheated others out of large sums of money.⁴⁶

We know considerably more about the other original members. Woodhead (1609-1678), one of the most determined opponents of Puritanism at Oxford, became a fellow of University College in 1633 and was elected proctor in 1641. He resisted efforts to impose the "solemn league and covenant," appearing before Parliament to defend the university. After his formal ejection in July 1648, he tutored Lord Capel, afterwards earl of Essex, in mathematics until 1652 at London. While living at Lord Capel's, Woodhead renewed his association with Henshaw. The common scientific bond would have been optics—a subject in which Henshaw was much interested—rather than chemistry. We know from an early biographer that Woodhead wrote *Propositions Concerning Optic Glasses, with their natural Reasons drawn from Experiments* (eventually published at Oxford in 1679) while at living at Lord Capel's.⁴⁷ Thus he did not live with Henshaw and the others at Pondhouse. The *Christian Learned Society* would undoubtedly have appealed on a number of levels to Woodhead, who was described by Evelyn as a "monkish solitary person" and was known to his friends as the "Invisible man."⁴⁸ His move to Hoxton in 1654, which was clearly a religious (i.e., Roman Catholic) rather than a scientific community, would delimit the period of his involvement with Henshaw.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Letter, Starkey to Boyle, 3 January 1652, Royal Society Library, Boyle Letters, fol. 131^v; ed. Newman, p. 222. For a summary of Vaughan's alchemy, see also pp. 213-22.

⁴⁷ Francis Nicolson, "A few particulars relating to Mr. Woodhead's life and works, writ with Mr. Francis Nicolson's own hand," Yorkshire Archaeological Society [Leeds] MS 45, p. 3 (vol. III of the Woodhead Collection). This life was written about 1730.

⁴⁸ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), III, 182; the entry was dated 11 August 1656. Letter, R. Hyde to Cuthbert Constable, from Winton, 5 September 1730 Yorkshire Archaeological Society MS 45: Hyde explained that he was styled the "Invisible man, as he was commonly call'd by his Friends, on account of his extraordinary retired life."

⁴⁹ He turned toward Roman Catholicism during his travels abroad from 1645-1646; in 1653 he moved in with John Wilby, a Catholic physician living in London, and in 1654 he retired to a former priory at Hoxton with a few Roman Catholic friends where he "lived in a pious obscurity and spent the rest of his days in doing good, in contemplation and strickt piety and in biding an eternal farewell to secular interest, to fame, to pleasure"; see Nicolson, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS 45, p. 3. His numerous writings distinguish him as perhaps the most eminent Roman Catholic controversialist of his time; see *DNB*, XXI, 869-71; and *Athene Oxonienses*, III, 1157-67.

Walker (1616-1699), who came under Woodhead's tuition in 1631 and was likewise a prominent convert to Rome, rose eventually to the mastership of University College after the Restoration.⁵⁰ He, too, profited from his years wandering on the continent as a tutor (where he also called on Evelyn), following his ejection from Oxford in 1648. Hartlib described him as a "very great Traveller and a most Universal Schollar full of curiosities in all kinds also in Chym[istry]" and called him an "accurat Aristotelian Universal Philosopher."⁵¹ Hartlib noted that both Woodhead and Walker had entered into Henshaw's society.

One Woodhead now Tutor to the L^d Capel or Stafford a Universal Excellent Schollar is also one of the Hinshaw's Society. They offer him o'r 200 lb. to stay wth the fore-said L^{ds} but hee will not. There are some other two w^{ch} have lived these 2-y[ears] wth Oughtred p[er]fecting thems. in the Mathematikes. and one w^{ch} is yet to come out of France. Walker is filled wth all manner of curious Kn[owledge] of Geomancy & Astrology and the like. D^r Child is to bee one of them.⁵²

We know from Child that Walker studied "wth M^r Oughtred to perfect hims[elf] in Mathematical Learning"; a second source identified the mathematician Robert Wood (1622-1685) as Walker's fellow student under Oughtred at Albury.⁵³

The character and later accomplishments of those joined together at Kensington, "where they lay their heads and hands together to see w^t they can produce," requires that we take these efforts seriously. Henshaw was well-connected in intellectual circles and would in time be a founding fellow of the Royal Society. Vaughan was a controversial figure whose *Anthroposophia Theomagica*, *Anima Magica Abscondita*, *Magia Adamica*, all published in 1650, were receiving much attention due to his skirmishing with Henry More. Woodhead and Walker were prominent Oxford dons; Child was

⁵⁰ See *DNB*, XX, 535-38; and *Athenæ Oxonienses*, IV, 437-44.

⁵¹ *Ephemerides* (1657) SUL H 29.6.11a and 29.6.14b. Hartlib's source was his confidant Israel Tonge, who was also Walker's "special acquaintance," having studied at University College. Hartlib noted further Tonge's opinion that "M^r Walker hee feares would turn Monke."

⁵² *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.70a. Elsewhere, SUL H 28.1.66a, Child plainly indicated that Walker was "one of M^r Hinshaw's Society."

⁵³ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.66a; letter, Robert Wood to Hartlib, 1 July 1657, from Phenix [Dublin], SUL H 33.1.19a. Wood had previously translated the *Clavis* into English.

regarded in London as a man of science; Webbe's alchemy was noteworthy. Two other names can be linked with the group: some time in 1652 Hartlib noted that "One Goodwin of Hinshaw's Philosophers is printing a spec. booke in Philosophy" and in 1655 that Sir William Payton's "Son is a great Chymist and in society with Hinshaw."⁵⁴

What they all had in common was an interest in experimental science and mathematics that had been cultivated by the leading mathematician of the age, Oughtred (1575-1660), whose *Clavis Mathematicæ* (1631) was hailed for introducing Hindu-Arabic notation, algebraic symbols, algorithms, and decimal fractions; for inventing the rectilinear and the circular slide-rules; and for teaching the mathematical operations fundamental to scientific research. Aubrey declared him even more famous abroad than at home: "Severall great Mathematicians came over into England on purpose to converse with him."⁵⁵ Since the universities did not provide instruction in higher mathematics, Oughtred had long tutored students gratis at his rectory in Albury just outside of Oxford, including John Wallis, Seth Ward, Christopher Wren, and three or possibly four of the founders, including Henshaw.

The emphasis on mathematical training suggests that the research program of Henshaw's "philosophers" combined the new quantitative methodology with more traditional manual operation and chemical experimentation, i.e., the regimen of fire, which is borne out by manuscript evidence of their activities. Their efforts ought not to be trivialized because they were dedicated to the kind of experimental science then simply called "chymistry" and since derided as mere alchemy. The recent intellectual biographies of such acclaimed "scientists" as Boyle and Newton reveal clearly that the boundaries defining the "scientific" had quite simply not been set. Boyle kept abreast of alchemical developments, as is evident from Hartlib's *Ephemerides*, and apparently collaborated with Starkey on experiments between 1651 and 1653.⁵⁶ Newton's devo-

⁵⁴ *Ephemerides* (1652), SUL H 28.2.31a; and (1655), SUL H 29.5.46a. I can discover nothing about either man.

⁵⁵ For details, see Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, pp. 289-93, and the article in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, X, 254-55.

⁵⁶ Wilkinson, "George Starkey," pp. 128-29, states that Child introduced Starkey to Boyle by 1651, and they made *ens veneris*, or essence of copper, which they hoped would be a universal medicine of the poor. In his last extant letter to Boyle (c. 1653),

tion to alchemy as a corrective to the mechanistic universe of Descartes and the likely influence of the Hermetic notion of sympathetic or occult forces on his concept of gravitational attraction are well known. Newton, in fact, acquired several alchemical formulas from among Boyle's papers at his death.⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, Oughtred himself was a "great lover of Chymistry," and Evelyn reported that "Amongst other discourse, he told me he thought *Water* to be the *Philosophers* first matter; & that he was well perswaded of the possibility of their Elixir."⁵⁸ That Henshaw had learned more than mathematics from his old teacher will be discussed more fully below.

Reports confirming some of the activities of Henshaw's society come from various sources. Even though we do not have minutes or records of meetings, we have enough evidence about their experiments and other scientific activities (i.e., publishing projects) to establish the group's character. It is noteworthy that their on-going research program was known to others, such as Boyle. Their experiments also caught the eye of the alchemist William Backhouse (1593-1662), Ashmole's mentor, who remarked to him in June 1651, "Some have wrought much upon Sutt / Vaughan upon the spirit of saltpetre / and of late he added May-dew to it."⁵⁹ Also extant are two primary sources that reveal the experiments of the principals: the notebooks of Rebecca and Thomas Vaughan from this period (BL MS, Sloane 1741) and Henshaw's laboratory report of the effort to fix the red elixir (Sloane 2222). Though neither manuscript can be definitively linked to the *Chymical Club*, there is no reason to assume the manuscripts do not reflect the group's research activities. If we take Hartlib's final notation on the *Christian Learned*

Starkey claimed to have transmuted metals to gold (p. 130). See also, Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, p. 71.

⁵⁷ Letter, Newton to Locke, 2 August 1692, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, ed. H. W. Turnbull, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP for the Royal Society, 1959-1977), III, 217: "This Rx I take to be ye thing for ye sake of wch Mr B[oyle] procured ye repeal of ye Act of Parl. against Multipliers, & therefore he had it then in his hands." See Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

⁵⁸ *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, p. 291; Evelyn, *Diary* (28 August 1655), III, 158.

⁵⁹ Ashmole recorded this in his notebook between 10 June and 16 June 1651, Bodleian Library MS, Ashmole 1136, fol. 24^v; in *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, His Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Work*, ed. C. H. Josten, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1966), II, 575. See also C. H. Josten, "William Backhouse of Swallowfield," *Ambix* 4 (1949):1-33.

Society (in 1659) as the group's *terminus ad quem*, both manuscripts are contemporaneous with it.

Sloane 2222 records an alchemical operation for producing the red elixir from the prime ingredient for the great work. Since solid metals (even ordinary quicksilver) could be melted, all metals seemed to have a fundamental volatility in common. Most natural philosophers believed that metals were propagated from "seeds" and nurtured (in the same fashion as the human fetus) in the earth in an aliment known as *sophic mercury*, considered to be the mother of all metals. What distinguished one metal from another was its degree of maturity or perfection. Alchemists sought to replicate in an alembic what Nature accomplished gradually through the *sophic mercury* generated naturally within the bowels of the earth. The various stages of the great work were detected through color changes—from black, to white, citrine, and finally red.⁶⁰ In the *Sceptical Chymist* (1661) Boyle, in fact, did discuss a red elixir that would turn lead to perfect gold.⁶¹ Neither Henshaw nor Vaughan had much interest in vulgar alchemy—what Vaughan called the "torture of *Metalls*"—though he conceded that "in *metalls* there were great *secrets*, provided they be first reduc'd by a proper *Dissolvent*; but to seek that *Dissolvent*, or the *matter* whereof it is *made*, in *Metalls*, is not onely *Error* but *Madness*."⁶² What such chemists sought was the *universal dissolvent* or *alkahest* that would yield the prime ingredient for the work and thus open the secrets of nature. (Henshaw in fact had boasted to Hartlib that he had acquired van Helmont's formula for the *alkahest* from the papers of Sir Hugh Platt.⁶³)

The surviving copy of the experiment is titled *A Diarie and Practike giuen by M^r Oughtred to M^r Thomas Henshaw*. The first five leaves, the

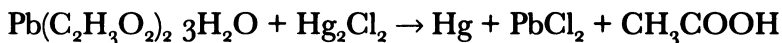
⁶⁰ For an excellent summary of the theory behind the alchemical tradition, see Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, pp. 92–114. On the color changes see, John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry: An Outline of Alchemy, Its Literature and Relationships*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology P, 1966), pp. 145–48. When liquified elixirs were thought to be panaceas.

⁶¹ *Works*, I, 508: "if instead of gold a tantillum of the red elixir be mingled with a saturn, their union will be so indissoluble in the perfect gold, that will be produced by it, that there is no known, nor perhaps no possible way of separating the diffused elixir from the fixed lead, but they both constitute a most permanent body." Producing the red "stone" from the white was likewise the goal of Ripley's *The Compound of Alchymy*.

⁶² *Euphrates* in *Works*, p. 513.

⁶³ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.60b. The formula was reputedly given to Platt when van Helmont was in England.

Practike, offer a detailed recipe for producing the red elixir; the next six leaves report a specific laboratory operation to make it, complete with days of the month (without the year), days of the week, and sometimes the astrological moment. Oughtred's formula required a matrix of *sophic mercury* or "spiritt" into which a fixed "bodie" was incorporated: if the principle of volatility was supplied by "sublimate," i.e., the sublimate of mercury or mercurous chloride (Hg_2Cl_2), as indicated in Henshaw's letters,⁶⁴ then the experimental *recipe* given in Sloane 2222 can be described in modern terms as follows. Three ounces of mercurous chloride ("spiritt") are combined with a like quantity of lead acetate ("bodie") and heated in an enclosed vessel for forty days, then repeatedly distilled. This process would produce elemental mercury with lead chloride in acetic acid:



Since lead chloride occurs as insoluble white crystals, it could be taken for the white elixir, or "white greasy Earth," mentioned in both the *Practike* and the *Diarie*. In the final stage of the process, the reader is instructed to use the white elixir already produced to "make new milk to feed y^e Child." *Lac virginis*, ordinarily, was basic carbonate of lead, but if the "sublimed" form of lead carbonate (PbSO_4) were used, sulphur would be present in the solution that could combine with mercury to form red cinnabar (HgS). While this common ore of mercury was not the fabled elixir, it would impart traces of the necessary color. The *recipe* was supposed to yield "41 [ounces] of o^r red Elixer w^{ch} thou mayst multiply to thy lives end."⁶⁵

The procedure itself was fully described in a numbered sequence that included the quantities of materials and type of apparatus needed, the grade of heat to be applied at each stage of the operation, and the color changes to be noted. The refusal to identify the two chief ingredients, referred to only as "our Spiritt" or "our pure bodie," makes evident the manuscript's affiliation with the secret

⁶⁴ Letter, [Henshaw] to Sir Robert Paston at Oxnead, 13 October 1670, Norfolk Record Office, Bradfer-Lawrence, 1c/1.

⁶⁵ BL MS, Sloane 2222, fol. 138^v. For a fuller account and *editio princeps* of Sloane 2222, see Donald R. Dickson, "Thomas Henshaw, Sir Robert Paston and the Red Elixir: An Early Collaboration Among Fellows of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 51 (1997):57-76.

tradition of alchemy. Otherwise, this experiment was as carefully controlled and as scientifically rigorous as most others in its time, e.g., those of Newton.⁶⁶ Henshaw obviously learned more than mathematics from his old teacher, who had boasted to Evelyn, "not above a year before he dyed, that if he were but five yeares (or three yeares) younger, he doubted not to find out the Philosopher's stone."⁶⁷

Sloane 2222 came into the possession of Henshaw's friend, Sir Robert Paston (1631-1683), following the death of its former owner in 1655, Theodore de Mayerne, whose indexed Latin notebooks make up the bulk of this folio volume (fols. 2-127^r).⁶⁸ Paston, the son of the antiquary Sir William Paston, was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge, made a fellow of the Royal Society in 1663, and was working with Henshaw on various projects as early as 1656.⁶⁹ Folios 136^v-41^v are *A Diarie and Practike giuen by M^r Oughtred to M^r Thomas Henshaw from whose manuscript I coppied itt. June y^e 6: 1668*. It is unclear whether Oughtred or Henshaw performed the experiment recorded in the *Diarie*. Since the day of the week was given along with the date, we can speculate on when the experiment could have taken place. During the period of Henshaw's association with Oughtred, the first recorded date, 12 August, fell on a Saturday in the years 1637, 1643, 1648 and 1654.⁷⁰ The two most attractive possibilities are 1637, when Henshaw may very well have been under Oughtred's tutelage at Albury, and 1654 when the *Chymical Club* was flourishing at Kensington. (In 1643 and 1648

⁶⁶ See Dobbs, *The Janus Faces of Genius*

⁶⁷ *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, p. 291.

⁶⁸ Mayerne (1573-1655), French born physician and Baron of Aubonne, studied at Heidelberg and Montpellier (MD in 1597) and practiced at Paris. His interest in iatrochemistry earned him the censure of the French College of Physicians in 1603, so he moved to London in 1611, where he became a fellow of the College of Physicians and was appointed royal physician to James, Charles I, Charles II. See Jöcher III, 330-31; and *DNB*, XXXVII, 150-52. His notebooks are titled Ἀμφομεριναὶ ἀποδόσεις. *Sive, Miscellanea ex variâ auditiōe, visione, & diversorum Experimentis, hinc inde - Collecta & annotata in Gallia, praesertim Lutetiae Annis [Christi] 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611 per The. Mayerne.*

⁶⁹ In 1673 he was elevated to the peerage (for having devoted his fortune and energies to the royalist cause) as Baron Paston of Norfolk and Viscount Yarmouth. See *DNB*, XV, 450. In a letter to Evelyn, 25 December 1656, BL MS, Add. 948, fol. 61^r, Henshaw alluded to a project involving Paston. Evelyn, *Diary*, III, 186, recorded that he dined with Paston, Henshaw, and a Mr. Clayton on 30 December 1656.

⁷⁰ Using the tables of Ernest J. Fredregill, *One Thousand Years: A Julian/Gregorian Perpetual Calendar, A.D. 1100 to A.D. 2099* (New York: Exposition, 1970).

Henshaw was on the continent, though Oughtred could have tried the procedure alone—as he could have in 1609, 1615, 1620 or 1626; Henshaw could have worked alone in 1665.) The ambiguity in the title leaves the question open. It seems clear, however, that Paston had nothing to do with the original experiment and that 6 June 1668 was simply the date he copied the formula.⁷¹ Whether or not the *Diarie* recorded Henshaw's own efforts to produce the red elixir, Sloane 2222 affords us a glimpse of the careful experimental chemistry Henshaw practiced.

The fact that one fellow of the Royal Society shared this recipe for the philosopher's stone with another fellow tells us much about what constituted respectable science in the year 1668. Henshaw was unquestionably familiar with the operation, as evidenced by the letters written in the spring and summer of 1669 to advise Paston about the procedure. These letters also confirm that Henshaw, whose salutation to Paston in each letter was "Deare Patrone," acted as Paston's mentor.⁷² Their correspondence thus reveals that Henshaw and Paston were privately pursuing a line of inquiry that originated in the alchemy of Paracelsus, Nicolas Flamel, and Sendivogius. At the same time, the early records of the Royal Society show that Henshaw reported publicly on these, or similar, experiments. On 18 May 1664, Henshaw offered "Some Additional Experiments to be made on May Dew" to the society, then meeting at Gresham College, in which tried to "putrefie" or heat the May-dew to extract nitre from it.⁷³ (May dew was thought to contain special properties because it, like aerial nitre, was endowed the spirit of life; many chemical philosophers believed *spiritus mundi* was actually an aerial saltpeter within the grosser air that turned into arterial blood.⁷⁴)

⁷¹ Paston similarly dated and reproduced the first person narration of the other alchemical treatise he copied into Mayerne's old notebooks, "Manna," (fols. 128^r-136^r), dated 19 May 1662 from Parsons Green, which had been taken from the notebooks of Sir Hugh Platt who died in 1611. Another copy can be found among Platt's alchemical notebooks, BL MS, Sloane 2194, fols. 77^v-84^v.

⁷² Twenty letters from Henshaw to Sir Robert Paston survive, mostly from 1669-1671 at the Norfolk Record Office in the Bradfer-Lawrence collection (1c/1) and in BL MS, Add. 36988.

⁷³ He was still mulling over the prospect of recovering nitre from May-dew with Paston as late as 2 September 1671.

⁷⁴ For example, recognizing that air was essential for both fire and life, Nicolas Le Fèvre, the royal chemist of Charles II, believed saltpeter to be the "universal salt,"

When you have vapoured away your Dew for the obtaining a Saltish Earth, as I proposed in my former paper, take [half a pound] of this Earth (if you can spare no more) and grinde it well with a pound of Bole on a marble, put all this into a large coated glass-retort, or else of Waldenburg earth, and in a naked fire beginning first with a gentle heat, drive it strongly for 6 houres; when it is cold, take off the receiver, which must have been carefully luted to the Retort: and observe well, whether you have not received an *Acide spirit*, and an *oily substance* swimming on the top of it; Rectify Each of these apart, in a small retort, and then observe what mettals they will dissolve. The *fixed salt* may be taken out of the Caput mortuum remaining after the first distillation.⁷⁵

Henshaw spoke likewise on the history and manufacture of saltpeter and even signed one of his letters as "Halophilus," i.e., "salt-lover."⁷⁶ As Steven Shapin has reminded us, the private house remained an important site for experimental work at this time, despite the Baconian methodology that required disciplined witnessing as the all important epistemological criterion of truth.⁷⁷ At the weekly meetings of the Royal Society, the fellows were typically entertained with public re-enactments of successful experiments using instruments and materials transported from a private to a public site. Henshaw and Paston's collaborative pursuit of the red elixir offers a glimpse inside Henshaw's private research activities with Paston.

Other evidence of the experimental activities of the group comes from Sloane 1741, Vaughan's *Aqua Vitæ*, a manuscript notebook of quarto gatherings, one hundred and eight leaves in all. In the first

possessing within itself the *spiritus mundi*. Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), I, 109; II, 495.

⁷⁵ BL MS, Add. 4440, fol. 282^{r-v}. This manuscript is volume IX of the Royal Society Papers, edited during Thomas Birch's tenure as secretary (1752-1765). Henshaw's nine experiments are also in Sloane 686, fols. 72^v-73^v. For an account of these experiments, see Alan B. H. Taylor, "An Episode with May-Dew," *History of Science* 32 (1994):163-84.

⁷⁶ See BL MS, Sloane 243, a copy of the first Register Book of the Royal Society: Nr. 18: "The History of the Making of Salt Peeter. By M^r. Henshaw" (43^v-48^r); "The Manner of making Salt Peeter" (48^v-51^r); "To Refine Saltpeeter" (51^v-53^r); "The History of making Gunpowder" (53^v-57^r). Vaughan similarly experimented on salt-peter, according to Backhouse. Letter, Halophilus [Thomas Henshaw] to Sir Robert Paston at Oxnead, 5 November 1663, Norfolk Record Office, Bradfer-Lawrence MS, 1C/1.

⁷⁷ Steven Shapin, "The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England," *Isis* 77 (1988):373-404.

part of the volume (folios 3^r-39^v), the data was entered right side up in the normal fashion; the remainder of the volume was filled in from the rear, with the retrograde text written upside down on the versos. That is, he wrote from both ends, turning the volume to make writing easier. Following the death of his wife in 1658, Vaughan transformed this notebook into a tribute to Rebecca and record of their joint accomplishments, for as he stated,

I employ'd my self all her life time in the Acquisition of some naturall secrets, to which I had been disposed from my youth up: and what I now write, and know of them practically, I attained to in her Dayes, not before in very truth, nor after: but during the time wee lived together att the Pinner of Wakefield, and though I brought them not to perfection in those deare Dayes, yet were the Gates opened to mee then, and what I have done since, is but the effect of those principles.⁷⁸

Most of the entries were dated in 1658 and 1659, though many of the experiments recorded in the notebook were first assayed much earlier; he repeatedly used the formulation *ut in diebus conjugis mee Charissimae inventa est* to assert that a formula had already been proved or tested. Even after her death he continued to sign most of the entries with their combined initials: T. R. V. The Vaughans' notebook thus raises the interesting possibility that Rebecca was a member of this *Christian Learned Society*: she certainly was an active partner in his alchemical experiments during their marriage. Furthermore, since we know that Anne Henshaw, Thomas's mother, was a chemist who almost certainly was living at Pondhouse while the society was flourishing (having negotiated for the new lease in 1650), two women may very well have been active in this society.

The notebook itself proves that the research of the Vaughans lay within the chemical mainstream as established by Sendivogius. Roughly half of their laboratory experiments focused on various salts including sodium chloride, borax, saltpeter, *scarabæus*, and, very frequently, *sal ammoniac* for washing or purifying processes.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Sloane 1741, fol. 105^v; *Works*, p. 588. They lived at an inn, the Pinder of Wakefield, in Grays Inn Lane in the parish of St. Pancras; see Hutchinson, pp. 196-97. Eluned Crawshaw transcribed *Aqua Vite* in her 1970 Univ. of Wales Diss., "The Alchemical Ideas of Thomas Vaughan and their Relationship to the Literary Work of Henry Vaughan," pp. 170-240.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the theory underlying Vaughan's alchemy, see Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, pp. 213-22. While the Vaughans considered *scarabæus* a salt, it apparently was a powder or resin produced from the beetle. *Sal ammoniac* is ammonium chloride

(Any solid that was soluble in water was considered a salt; hence there were neutral salts as well as acids and alkalis.) The notebook also catalogues a wide variety of other recipes (many from favorite authors, such as Ramon Lull, Paracelsus, Sendivogius, and Basil Valentine), as well as their own discoveries, notably an “aqua vitæ, which I found, when I lived with my deare Wife, att y^e pinner of wakefield,” and several versions of an “Aqua Rebecca.”⁸⁰

Nearly all of their research involved substances that were used as medicaments. More than fifty of the recipes (about half) concerned the preparation of medicines—either involving herbal preparations for scammony, rhubarb, larch fungus, senna, cassia, jalap root, the sap of panax, narcotics, such as opium, or mineral compounds used as medicaments, such as *crocus metallorum*. Considering the often close connection among apothecaries, chemists, and the medical marketplace, this interest in medicines should not be surprising.⁸¹ When considering the nature of Vaughan’s professional activities, let us recall that Henry Vaughan, in response to queries from his kinsmen Aubrey, then gathering data for *Brief Lives*, declared that “My brothers imploy^mt was in physic & Chymistrie. . . . My profession allso is physic.”⁸² Like his twin brother, a practicing country doctor who translated two iatrochemical works, Heinrich Nolle’s *Hermetical Physick* (1655) and *The Chymist’s Key* (1657), Thomas endorsed these same principles and, in his notebook, used the Paracelsian term *arcanum* (on thirty-seven separate occasions) to denote a medicine whose secret “virtue” allowed it to act directly (as opposed to Galenic medicines that balanced or tempered the elements).

As with the Henshaw-Oughtred laboratory report, the Vaughans’ notebook specifies the apparatus to be used, the quantities of materials, and, to a lesser extent, the grade of heat or the duration of each operation. Both these manuscripts give evidence

(NH₄Cl).

⁸⁰ Sloane 1741, fols. 87^v, 101^v, 97^v, and 93^v.

⁸¹ On the competition between the iatro-chemists and the Galenists, see Charles Webster, “English Medical Reformers of the Puritan Revolution: A Background to the ‘Society of Chymical Physicians,’” *Ambix* 14 (1967):16–41; and Harold J. Cook, “The Society of Chymical Physicians, the New Philosophy, and the Restoration Court,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987):61–77.

⁸² Letter, Henry Vaughan to John Aubrey, 15 June 1673, from Brecon, Bodleian Library MS, Wood F 39, fol. 216, in *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, ed. L. C. Martin, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1957), p. 688.

that the two principals of the *Chymical Club* were fully engaged in chemical experiments in the 1650s that were as rigorous as many of those performed before the Royal Society in the following decade.

In addition to these scientific experiments, Henshaw's society was engaged in pansophical projects designed to enhance the dissemination of knowledge. From Hartlib's 1650 report (quoted above), we know they desired to collect all books and manuscripts on chemistry, to translate and publish them in one volume, and to enhance mutual communication among natural philosophers. From Hartlib's later reports on these activities in the 1650s, we can take a further index of the group's vitality. Like many *virtuosi* of the time, Henshaw assiduously collected scientific curiosities and manuscripts. As is well known, the collection of his friend Ashmole (supplemented by John Tradescant's) became the foundation for the museum at Oxford bearing his name. Henshaw's "Library of Chymical Bookes" was comparable to that of Robert Fludd in the estimation of Child.⁸³ He possessed a number of rare manuscripts.⁸⁴ Some of his choicest, notably van Helmont's recipe for the alkahest formerly owned by Sir Hugh Platt, were acquired from estate sales.⁸⁵ In fact Henshaw recommended his method of buying entire collections to Hartlib.⁸⁶ Collecting books and manuscripts was just the preliminary step, for Henshaw intended to translate and publish them.

Foremost among the publishing projects Henshaw was known to be pursuing was a complete edition of Oughtred's work. Hartlib reported that:

Hinshaw and his friends haue at last prevailed with Oughtred to publish all his Mathematical Tracts of wch hee hath very many made ready and some are yet to bee perfected if Will. Foster Practitioner of Math. could bee maintained by others to whom hee might dictate what is wanting.

⁸³ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.73a-b.

⁸⁴ In the 1650 *Ephemerides*, SUL H 28.1.75a, we read that "Hinshaw lent to D^r Gibbons a MS. Philosophical and Theosophical the only one in Engl. w^{ch} hee cannot get back from him."

⁸⁵ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.60b.

⁸⁶ *Ephemerides* (1651), SUL H 28.2.24b: "M^r Hinshaw got a MS when Hopton's (who was Leger Amb^r in Spaine) Library was sold wherin are set down the Exp. of all the Curious Perfumes of Spaine whatsoever. . . . The Stationer gave him this MS. to boot as a trivial thing w^{ch} yet exceeded for the Spanish books w^{ch} he bought. This is one President how to improve the Saile of such old Libraries." Sir Arthur Hopton, who was resident (or ledger, lieger) ambassador in Spain, died in 1650.

A matter of 60. lb. would doe all. Hee hath made ready all the Ancient Math.^{ans} after his way.⁸⁷

Henshaw needed to raise a subvention for the mathematician William Forster, Oughtred's former pupil, who had translated and published in 1632 his treatise on the horizontal instrument for delineating dials. Since no such *opera omnia* was forthcoming, we can assume Henshaw failed. There was a later report by the mathematician Pell that "One Goodwin of Hinshaw's Philosophers is printing a spec. booke in Philosophy," though it was never published.⁸⁸ Still, both these projects illustrate the group's aspirations to make knowledge available to a wider audience, as do their numerous contacts with Hartlib, who had taken on the task of broadcasting news of all scientific advancements to those in the republic of letters most interested.

The plans for editing and translating the works of all natural philosophers and chemists in one volume may have reached fruition through the efforts of Henshaw's friend Ashmole, though he is not known to have been associated directly with the *Christian Learned Society*. Ashmole was well acquainted with Child, for whose son he cast a nativity on 18 November 1649.⁸⁹ He discussed Rosicrucianism with him and recorded notes about it in his cipher; and Child kept Hartlib abreast of Ashmole's efforts to compile the *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum: Containing Severall Poeticall Pieces of our Famous English Philosophers, who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their owne Ancient Language* (1652).⁹⁰ Ashmole knew of Vaughan's experiments, though he apparently did not meet Walker until much later.⁹¹ He was a life-long friend of Henshaw, whose chambers at the Middle Temple he bought on 13 November 1658 for £130.⁹² More ger-

⁸⁷ *Ephemerides* (1650), SUL H 28.1.74a. Henshaw reported this himself; he also stated that Walker too had lived with Oughtred.

⁸⁸ *Ephemerides* (1652), SUL H 28.2.31a. Computer searches of the *STC* for a Goodwin as publisher or author have revealed no trace of it.

⁸⁹ Josten, II, 496.

⁹⁰ *Ephemerides* (March 1651), SUL H 28.2.11b; see also Josten, II, 565.

⁹¹ Ashmole's notes from June 1651 refer to Vaughan's experiments on saltpeter, Bodleian MS, Ashmole 1136, fol. 24^v; Josten, II, 575. The first reference to Walker in his notebooks came on 30 September 1682, when Walker was master of University College, in conjunction with the founding of the Ashmolean Museum; Josten, IV, 1707-9.

⁹² Josten, II, 752. They had many dealings with each other: e.g., when Henshaw was an envoy to Denmark in 1672, Ashmole wrote asking that he distribute copies of his history of the garter.

mane, Henshaw supplied manuscripts for the *Theatrum Chemicum*.⁹³ Though we cannot connect Ashmole to Henshaw's society directly, it may very well be that they deferred to Ashmole's energy and funding for this particular project, especially when the aims of learning were so well served.

At this same time, an experimental *collegium* devoted primarily to alchemy flourished within the Hartlib circle. Since they have been comprehensively treated elsewhere, it is only necessary to outline their story.⁹⁴ In the early 1650s, Hartlib was patron and co-investigator with two leading alchemists, the mercurial Starkey and Hartlib's son-in-law, the Helmontian physician Frederick Clodius. Starkey arrived in London from New England in late 1650, having already been lauded by Child and others as an "incomparable universall Witt." Clodius joined this circle early in 1652, for whose use Hartlib had a laboratory established in his own kitchen. A formal working arrangement, the *Christianæ Societatis Pactum*, signed by Dury, Hartlib, and Clodius on 18 August 1652, suggests that Hartlib at least regarded this group as a version of the Christian Societies he had long advocated. Indeed the preamble situated their scientific endeavors within the context of Christian community: "When in this life's brief, fragile and wretched course, let it only be proposed that we not live alone by ourselves. . . ." They pledged to share the fruits of their research with each other and to communicate often if apart; lastly, they vowed to help Starkey with his endeavors.⁹⁵ Within a few years, though, Starkey had been entirely supplanted by Clodius as principal investigator.⁹⁶ In a 1654 letter, Hartlib in-

⁹³ Bodleian Library MS, Ashmole 972, fol. 246; Josten, II, 600. The Prolegomena to the *Theatrum Chemicum*, Sig. B2^v, alluded to "some worthy and intimate Friends" who had supplied him with MSS. Ashmole also acquired the MS. for *The Way to Bliss*, "from a very intimate Friend (one extraordinary Learned and a great Ornament of our Nation)." In the manuscript version, Ashmole 537, the name "Henshaw" was written in Ashmole's hand; Josten, II, 733 n. 4.

⁹⁴ For full accounts, see Ronald Sterne Wilkinson, "The Hartlib Papers and Seventeenth-Century Chemistry, Part Two," *Ambix* 17 (1970):85-110; Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 51-77; Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy, or "The Hunting of the Greene Lyon"* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), pp. 62-80; and Newman, *Gehennical Fire*, pp. 54-83.

⁹⁵ *Christianæ Societatis Pactum*, SUL H 7.110.1a: "Cum in Momentaneo, Fragili et Ærurnoso vitæ huius curriculo hoc unice nobis propositum sit, non nobis ipsis solum vivere. . . ."

⁹⁶ Dobbs, *Foundations*, p. 74. Starkey had also been imprisoned briefly for debt.

formed Boyle that Sir Kenelm Digby was especially impressed with Clodius's alchemical skills. As soon as Digby's sequestered estates were settled, he intended to give £600 or £700 for setting up a "universal laboratory, to be erected after such a manner as may redound, not only to the good of this island, but also to the health and wealth of all mankind." The optimistic note here is the quintessential Hartlib, for this good man hoped always for the betterment of humankind.⁹⁷

Though Henshaw and Vaughan were devoted to experimental chemistry before they met Hartlib, their *Christian Learned Society* was shaped, in part, by the enthusiasm of Hartlib's circle and hence by the utopianism of Andreae, Comenius *et al.* When Vaughan undertook the publication of Andreae's early utopian manifestos (which no doubt pleased Hartlib mightily), the lineage was made even clearer.

B. Vaughan's *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C:*

Though the Rosicrucian manifestos circulated as manuscripts in the British Isles – as they did everywhere in Europe – the first printed edition in English was Vaughan's *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R. C., Commonly, of the Rosie Cross. With a Preface annexed thereto, and a short Declaration of their Physicall Work*, published in 1652 under the pseudonym Eugenius Philalethes. He brought this edition forth not only to serve a public need but a personal one as well. His first work, *Anthroposophia Theomagica* (written at Oxford in 1648 then published at London in 1650), was dedicated to "Illustrissimis, et vere Renatis Fratribus R. C." Why he referred to them as "reborn" is uncertain: the rebirth could involve the masonic activities then on the rise or to enterprises, such as his own *Christian Learned Society*, which followed the 1647 English edition of Andreae's utopian tracts. In another early work, *Magia Adamica* (1650) that was intended as a preface to hermetic philosophy, the brotherhood was

⁹⁷ Letter, Hartlib to Boyle, 8 May 1654, *Works*, VI, 86-87. In a later letter to Boyle, 14 September 1658, *Works*, VI, 114, Hartlib discussed further some of the difficulties at Clodius's "chemical college or laboratory." Among Hartlib's papers, SULH 8.28.1a-4a, is a *Catalogus Experimentorum Secretorum*, which itemizes his hopes for scientific and technical projects to aid humankind.

depicted as the heirs to a tradition of esoteric wisdom, the same line in which he placed his own work. Vaughan thus promulgated the manifestos, because he endorsed their goals, though he did not consider himself a Rosicrucian. As he affirmed in the Preface, “*it cannot be thought unreasonable and certainly not unseasonable, if a Society conscious of the Truth, and skil’d in the abstruse principles of Nature, shall endeavour to rectifie the world.*”⁹⁸ He plainly saw the utopianism of the Rosicrucians within the context of the general movement for reform in early modern Europe. Just as with Andreae or the Rosicrucians, Vaughan was only interested in spiritual or personal reformation – despite having served as a Royalist officer.

The manuscripts of the *Fama* and *Confessio*, Vaughan declared, were “*communicated to me by a Gentleman more learned then my self, and I should name him here, but that he expects not either thy thanks or mine.*” Most likely this was Vaughan’s patron, Sir Robert Moray (1608–1673), one of the principal architects of the Royal Society (having obtained its royal letters patent in 1662), who in 1647 married Sophia Lindsay, the daughter of David Lindsay (1587–1641), first Baron of Balcarres and a great collector of alchemical and Rosicrucian manuscripts. In the library of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres is a manuscript translation of the manifestos in Scots dialect, designated “Balcarres, 1633,” which is believed to be the source for Vaughan’s edition.⁹⁹ Moray had access to the Crawford manuscript through his marriage and subsequent friendship with his brother-in-law, Alexander Lindsay, who also served Charles II in exile. Moray, furthermore, was one of the most prominent Scottish freemasons of his age, having been initiated on 20 May 1641 at a lodge in Edinburgh; he later undertook a history of the mason craft for the Royal Society in the 1660s.¹⁰⁰ We do not know when Vaughan first began his association with his patron, who had journeyed between the continent, England, and Scotland, frequently on

⁹⁸ *Works*, p. 483.

⁹⁹ See F. N. Pryce’s introduction to the facsimile edition of *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of the R.C.* (Margate: Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, 1923), pp. 3–8; and Thomas Willard, “The Rosicrucian Manifestos in Britain,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 77 (1983):489–95.

¹⁰⁰ See David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland’s Century, 1590–1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988), pp. 166–89; and Alexander Robertson, *The Life of Sir Robert Moray: Soldier, Statesman and Man of Science (1608–1673)* (London: Longmans, 1922).

behalf of the king from 1645-1655. Henshaw may have provided the link. The two shared an interest in secret brotherhoods as well as common scientific interests. Both Wood and Aubrey characterized Moray as a "good Chymist," who had devoted himself to chemical experiments during his exile in Maastricht (1657-1659).¹⁰¹

Though Vaughan declared emphatically that he was not a Rosicrucian, he was moved to make the manifestos more widely known because of the similarity of their beliefs. At the end of his lengthy Preface, having defended the practices and claims that had generated such a sensational response, he confessed:

*Thus Reader have I endeavor'd to produce some Reasons for those strange Effects, whereof this Society hath made a public Profession. I did it not as a Kindness to them, for I pen no Plots, neither do I desire their Familiarity. I am indeed of the same Faith with them, and I have thus prefac'd, because I had the Impudence to think it concern'd me as much as them.*¹⁰²

He himself had just been attacked by Henry More in a bitter pamphlet war over "enthusiasm" in experimental philosophy, following the publication of his first books. To his Preface he even appended a foreword, "The Publisher to the Reader," asking that prejudice not obstruct judgment. He also reminded the reader that "America as well as the Philosophers Stone, was sometimes in the Predicament of Impossibilities," but experience has taught otherwise. He was well aware of the sensationalism surrounding the infamous fraternity – particularly the rumor about an invisible college – and quipped that henceforth crowds would flee from him as if the banner of the red cross betokened the plague:

*I am in the Humor to affirm the Essence, and Existence of that admired Chimæra, the Fraternitie of R. C. And now Gentlemen I thank you, I have Aire and Room enough: methinks you sneak and steal from me, as if the Plague and this Red Cross were inseparable.*¹⁰³

Despite his repeated avowals in the Preface that he had no personal acquaintance with the Rosicrucians, Vaughan was nonetheless pilloried as the leading English Rosicrucian of his age in Butler's *Hudibras* and his *Characters*; Wood likewise characterized him as a

¹⁰¹ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, III, 722; *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, p. 282.

¹⁰² *Works*, p. 505.

¹⁰³ *Works*, p. 480.

“zealous brother of the Rosie-Crucian fraternity.”¹⁰⁴ This characterization has followed him through the ages.

Vaughan attributed the unjust censure of the Rosicrucians to what he termed a “double Obscurity, of Life and Language.” First of all, because they have sequestered themselves from the world like “*innocent and contented* Eremites,” they have not countered the charges leveled against them in the public arena by their greatest enemies, the Aristotelians who control the universities. Secondly, they have delivered their notions by using an obscure vocabulary, even inventing “Barbarous Termes of their own,” along with “*conceited* Riddles.” This opaque style puzzled him, particularly since he believed it an unnecessary departure from the tradition of Hermes Trismegistus whom Vaughan believed “*clear and Rational*” in his doctrine. Instead, for reasons of “*both* Discretion and Necessitie,” they cloaked their texts in “Umbrage and Mist” to preserve their mysteries from the uninitiated.¹⁰⁵ In Vaughan’s estimation, then, this elusive brotherhood had good reasons for being so obscure. About their existence, he had no doubt. Their books were real enough. More to the point, the philosophy revealed in their books was sound, as was the story of their origin: “*Nor is this at all improbable, for the Eastern Countries have been always famous for Magical and Secret Societies.*” To prove this point, Vaughan recounted (in a digression of some five thousand words) the experiences of the Neopythagorean sage Apollonius of Tyana, who had learned many secrets at a “Colledg” among the Brahmins in India. The earliest Rosicrucian apologists had likewise found an analogue to Christian Rosencreutz’s journey to the east in Apollonius’s.¹⁰⁶ Vaughan’s divagation on the *prisca theologia* and a magical society in India was intended, therefore, to validate the originary story told in the manifestos: “*From this Fountain also, this living, Oriental One, did the Brothers of R. C. draw their wholesom Waters: for their Founder received his Principles at Damcar in Arabia, as their Fama will instruct you at large.*”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Works*, pp. 483, 498; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, III, 723; Samuel Butler, *Characters*, ed. Charles W. Daves (Cleveland and London: P of Case Western Reserve U, 1970), pp. 144-45; see also *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), I, 1.519-616; II, iii, 613-40.

¹⁰⁵ *Works*, pp. 481-83.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Michael Maier, *Silentium post Clamores*, and Joachim Frizius, *Summum Bonum*; see Pryce, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Works*, p. 498.

The digression also allowed Vaughan to deal with the most sensational of their claims, the secret of invisibility.

*The Wise-men (saith Apollonius) dwell on a little Hill, or Mount, and on the Hill there rested always a Cloud, in which the Indians hous'd themselves (for so the word signifies,) and here did they render themselves visible or invisible, at their own will and discretion.*¹⁰⁸

The Brahmins, however, only allowed those who believed to see this white light. Their dwelling atop a sacred mountain paralleled the "Locus S. Sanctus," the place of the Holy Spirit where the Rosicrucians, who also "*can move in this white Mist*," gathered once a year. To support the Rosicrucian claim to invisibility, Vaughan drew on declarations from the work of two authors associated with the brotherhood—Joachim Frizius's *Summum Bonum* (1629), and Michael Maier's *Themis Aurea* (1618)—but he accepted the claim on its own merits since he believed the eastern magi had possessed the secrets of the philosopher's stone, a knowledge that could convey awesome powers.¹⁰⁹ Lest his readers scoff, he reminded them that Apollonius had also related the fabulous story of the Brahmins' ability to ward off their enemies by using "Thunder and Lightning," a claim later authenticated after the introduction of gun powder to Europe.

Following this long digression, Vaughan next enlarged upon two fundamental doctrines held by the Rosicrucians that were similar to his own beliefs. To begin, he outlined what might be termed an alchemical understanding of the creation: the Holy Spirit worked upon elemental water and earth to extract a "*Heavenly clarified Extract*," which was then "*impregnated with the Influx and Image of the Spirit*" to form mankind. Physically this first matter was a "liquid transparent Salt, a certain bright Earth, purified by a supernatural Agent; and temper'd with a strange unctuous Humidity, enlightened with all the Tinctures of the Sun and Stars."¹¹⁰ His source is once again Maier, but the major ideas derive ultimately from Lull, Agrippa, and Paracelsus, whose experiments attempt to reduce other substances to "elemental earth." He alluded to similar doctrines in a host of philosophers of the occult to lend authority to the brother-

¹⁰⁸ *Works*, p. 489.

¹⁰⁹ *Works*, p. 489; see Rudrum's notes, pp. 717-18.

¹¹⁰ *Works*, pp. 498-99; Rudrum, p. 720, notes that Vaughan relied on Maier's *Canones declaratorii* (1624).

hood. Finally, he closed with an explanation of alchemy itself reduced to its simplest form: just as in natural generation, where seed was multiplied in corn by the husbandman, so in minerals was there a sperm for multiplying; most chemists failed because the earth or vessel in which the seed was buried was too cold or the heat used to nurture the seed was too hot.¹¹¹

Vaughan was certainly steeped in Rosicrucian lore, as evidenced by his frequent references in his own writing.¹¹² It may seem curious that he cited Rosicrucian works by title without revealing their authors (most conspicuously he made no attempt to identify the authors of the *Fama*), but it is not surprising given his own penchant for pseudonymous publication and the tradition of the secret *tessera* in the brotherhoods. More than likely, the secret brotherhood with which Vaughan was associated was masonry, which was flourishing in Scotland and just then emerging in England.

Freemasonry had much in common with the Rosicrucians and other secret societies. Their legendary founder was the father of Noah, Lamech, who wrote secrets on pillars of stone to survive fire or flood. One of Noah's great grandsons, "the great Hermarius" or Hermes Trismegistus, discovered one of these pillars and taught the craft to men again. Nimrod, builder of the tower of Babel, was considered a mason, and Euclid, Abraham's teacher in Egypt, was said to have brought the craft to Greece. Masonry was thus linked to geometry, a pure science. The statutes of the craft in Britain were first codified in 1598 by William Schiaw (1550-1602), the Scottish king's principal master of works. The First Schaw Statutes, though, were clearly based on an older set of ordinances, the so-called Old Charges. Schaw, in actuality, reorganized the mason craft in Scotland to endow it with a new stature and meaning. David Stevenson points out that the Hermetic movement proved a strong influence on Scottish mason craft through Alexander Dickson (1558-1604), a

¹¹¹ *Works*, pp. 505-6.

¹¹² *Anima Magica Abscondita* (1650) quoted from Gerhard Dorn, "to whom the Brothers of R.C. gave the Title of Sapiens, and from whose writings they borrowed most of their Instructions ad Candidatum quendam Germaniæ" (*Works*, p. 125). In *Magia Adamica* (1650), he cited testimony "from one of the Rosie Brothers," though M. Georgius Beatus, *Azoth, sive Aureliae Occultae Philosophorum* (Frankfurt, 1613) actually predated them (*Works*, pp. 210-13; see Rudrum's note, p. 652). In *Lumen de Lumine* (1651) he incorporated "A Letter from the Brothers of R. C. Concerning the Invisible, Magicall MOUNTAINE" (*Works*, pp. 318-20).

disciple of Bruno, whose art of memory depends on a classically shaped building; the masonic lodge in the seventeenth century, thus, may have been an “imaginary building with places and images fixed in it as aids to memorising the secrets of the Mason Word and the rituals of initiation.”¹¹³

With its ritual and ceremony, masonry served a spiritual need left unfilled when the religious side of the guild-fraternities was minimized after the Reformation. For some of its devotees in the eighteenth century, speculative freemasonry became a “natural religion based upon belief not in the power of providence but in the power of nature.”¹¹⁴ Its affinity with the spirit of the Rosicrucian manifestos is plain, since freemasonry was founded on the ideals of brotherhood coupled with the notion that science and esoteric knowledge, if tempered with high religious ideals, could be of service to humankind. Others at the time certainly linked masonry with Rosicrucianism. In his long poetic account of Perth and its environs, *The Muses Threnodie* (c. 1630), Henry Adamson had proclaimed:

For what we do presage is not in grosse,
For we be brethren of the *Rosie Crosse*;
We have the *Mason Word* and second sight,
Things for to come we can foretell aright.¹¹⁵

The first historian to suggest that Rosicrucianism was connected with freemasonry was Johann Gottlieb Buhle, *Über den Ursprung und die vornehmsten Schicksale der Orden der Rosenkreuzer und Freymaurer* (1804). Perhaps in consequence, eighteenth-century masons added the Rose Cross “grade” to their hierarchy. The simultaneous revival of Rosicrucianism and emergence of the masons in Interregnum England, in any case, suggest that both groups were nurtured by the same flame.

No evidence other than his association with Moray, however, has turned up to connect Vaughan with any specific lodge. Such records are far from complete, and even Moray’s name appears only twice on masonic records, though we know that he used a mason

¹¹³ Stevenson, p. 96. I am much indebted to Stevenson, especially pp. 20–21, 26–51 and 77–124, for this brief account of masonry.

¹¹⁴ Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London and Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 109.

¹¹⁵ Cited by Stevenson, pp. 125–26. That *The Muses Threnodie* was written about 1630 (then published at Edinburgh in 1638) attests to the vitality of manuscript circles in Britain.

mark – a pentagram – throughout his life, that he mentioned his masonic affiliation in his correspondence, and that he prepared a history of the masonic craft for the Royal Society.¹¹⁶ Lodges were beginning to form in England at this time: Ashmole was initiated as a mason on 16 October 1646 at Warrington in Lancashire and remained interested enough to compile a history of the craft.¹¹⁷

What result Vaughan expected from the publication of the manifestos is not known. Since he so studiously disclaimed personal involvement with the Rosicrucians, we should properly discount the possibility that he hoped to flush out any of the brotherhood from their cover. He was already involved with the *Christian Learned Society* and perhaps with the masons. Public interest in the Rosicrucians in Britain was escalating. They figured prominently, for example, in the Prolegomena to Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, which appeared in the same year as Vaughan's edition and was dedicated "To All Ingeniously Elaborate Students In the most Divine Mysteries of *Hermetique Learning*." By tradition, such mysteries as would be disclosed within, Ashmole reminded his readers, had been preserved from the uninitiated, just as Jesus revealed the mysteries of the kingdom to his disciples but spoke in parables to others (Luke 8:10). As a result, the accomplishments of English hermetic philosophers have not been generally known, a point he proved by recounting the legend from the *Fama* of one of the founders of the *Fratres R. C.* who had cured the Earl of Norfolk of leprosy yet remained anonymous. His *Theatrum* would remedy this fault by displaying their wisdom to the world (though by using verse he realized he was still veiling the mysteries).¹¹⁸

A few years later a translation appeared of Maier's *Themis Aurea. The Laws of the Fraternity of the Rosie Crosse* (1656), dedicated "To the most excellently Accomplish't, The onely Philosopher in the present

¹¹⁶ Stevenson, pp. 168-79.

¹¹⁷ Bodleian Library MS, Ashmole 1136, fol. 19v: "4H.30' P.M. I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Coll: Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge, Mr: Rich Penket Warden, Mr: James Collier, Mr: Rich: Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, Rich: Ellam & Hugh Brewer"; Josten, II, 395-96, translates this cipher note. On his masonic papers, which do not survive, see also Josten, I, 34-35 and IV, 1839-41.

¹¹⁸ Elias Ashmole, ed., *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), Sig. A2^r. He also stated, Sig. B3^v: "Nor did the Ancients wrap up their Chiefest Mysteries, any where else, then in the Parabolical & Allusive part of Poetry, as the most Sacred, and Venerable in their Esteeme, and the securest from Prophane and Vulgar Wits."

age: The Honoured, Noble, Learned, Elias Ashmole, Esq." Ashmole probably acted as its publisher (according to Hartlib), just as Vaughan had done for the *Fama*.¹¹⁹ These *leges* (elaborating what was set forth in the *Fama*) were prefaced by a Latin epistle to the Rosicrucians, signed by "Theodorus Verax" and "Theophilus Cælnatus," who lauded the edition and preface of the *Fama* edited by that most illustrious Englishman Eugenius Philalethes. This letter resembled those printed throughout Europe in the aftermath of the first publication of the manifestos that praised the brotherhood and asked for admission; it also resembled a letter found with a manuscript copy of the *Fama*, both of which were in Ashmole's hand.¹²⁰

Further public notice was given the Rosicrucians by John Webster (1610-1682), a surgeon and former minister who sought to reform the educational system in England. His *Academiarum examen* (1654) criticized the Aristotelianism of the universities and recommended a new science curriculum based on Baconian observation and experimentation. Having trained with the Hungarian alchemist Johann Hunyades (1576-1650), Webster advocated a program based on experimental chemistry to discover the secrets in the laboratory. In this regard, he celebrated the accomplishments of that "highly illuminated fraternity of the Rosie Crosse."¹²¹

Certainly, the most prolific and enthusiastic proponent of Rosicrucianism in England at this time was John Heydon (b. 1629), an astrologer, soldier, and sometime attorney. His first work was a generalized satire of the times, *Eugenius Theodidactus, The Prophetical Trumpeter Sounding an Allarum to England* (1655). Though he used a pseudonym in his title to ascribe divine origins to his message, he also drew fire by identifying himself on the title page. He was imprisoned later (1655-1657) for predicting Cromwell's death by hanging, and his books were burnt. After his release from Lambeth

¹¹⁹ Josten, I, 106, attributes the translation to Nathaniel and Thomas Hodges. In a 20 July 1659 letter to Worthington, Hartlib wrote: "I hear that Mr. Ashmole hath published the orders of Rosy Crucians & Adepti"; ed. Crossley, I, 157.

¹²⁰ Michael Maier, *Themis Aurea* (London, 1656), Sig. a3^r: "*Fama Vestra in linguam translata Anglicanam ad nostras manus pervenit (editâ simul Prefatione Viri Illustrissimi E. P. Orbis Britanici Solis)*. . . ." See Bodleian Library MS, Ashmole 1459, fols. 280-82, for "*Fratribus Rosæ Crucis illuminatissimis*." Josten, II, 681, says Ashmole was familiar with and sympathetic to such Rosicrucian literature but remained skeptical.

¹²¹ *Academiarum examen, or the Examination of Academies* (London, 1654), p. 26. See Allen G. Debus, *Science and Education in the Seventeenth Century: the Webster-Ward Debate* (London: Macdonald, 1970).

House, he began to publish works that purported to reveal Rosicrucian secrets to the public, even though he, too, asserted that he was not a member of the fraternity: *A New Method of Rosie-Crucian Physick* (1658), *The Rosie Crucian Infallible Axiomata* (1660), *A Rosycrucian Theomagical Dictionary* (1662), *A Rosie Cross uncovered* (1662), *The Wise-Man's Crown: or the Glory of the Rosie-Cross* (1664), in addition to many others on similar topics.¹²² He styled himself Philonomos (lover of law) and situated himself in Hermeupolis (city of Hermes).

What can be termed his magnum opus was a six-part tome, published in early 1662 as *The Holy Guide, Leading the way to Vnite Art and Nature*. The uncorrected sheets, along with an extended preface, dated 3 April 1662, and a chemical dictionary were refashioned as *The English Physitians Guide, or, A Holy-Guide*. This preface reproduced nearly verbatim the voyage to Bensalem from the *New Atlantis*, though Heydon interrupted the narrative at various points to explain that the masters of the secret wisdom at Solomon's House were in fact the Rosicrucian brotherhood. The sixth book, *The Rosie Cross Uncovered* (also published separately that year), offered an embellished account of the Rosicrucian brotherhood's origins and activities in England.

At this day the *Rosie Crucians* that have been since Christ, say, their Fraternity inhabits the *West* of England; and they have likewise power to renew themselves, and wax young again, as those did before the birth of Jesus Christ, as you may read in many Books.

And Dr. *F.* saith, somewhere there is a Castle in the *West* of England, in the earth, and not on the earth, and there the *Rosie Crucians* dwell, guarded without walls, and possessing nothing, they enjoy all things; in this Castle is great Riches, the Halls fair and rich to behold, and the Chambers are made and composed of white Marble; at the end of the Hall there is a Chimney, whereof the two pillars that sustain the Mantle-tree, are of fine Jasper, and the Mantle is of rich Calcedony, and the Lintel is made of fine Emeralds trailed with a wing of fine Gold, and the grapes of fine Silver, and all the Pillars in the Hall are of red Calcedonie, and the pavement is of fine Amber. . . .

In this place have I a desire to live, if it were for no other reason, but what the Sophist sometimes applied to the Mountains, *Hos primum Sol salutat, ultimosque deserit. Quis Locum non amet, Dies Longiores habentem*. But of this place I will not speak any more least the Readers should mistake me, so as to entertain a suspection that I am of this Order.¹²³

¹²² For details of his life, see *DNB*, IX, 768-69.

¹²³ Heydon, *The Holy Guide, Leading the way to Vnite Art and Nature*, 6 bks. in 1 (London,

Throughout this long work Heydon held forth as one who knew the innermost secrets of the fraternity; in fact, he alleged that his *Wise-Man's Crown* was the fabled "book *M*" that Christian Rosencreutz had composed. Even though he claimed that he was not a brother, he was not averse to naming those who were—Theophilus Fulwood, Tobias Williams, and Noah Walford. Among his patrons he counted the duke of Buckingham (who helped bail him out of jail in 1667). Ashmole, on the other hand, called him "an ignoramus and a cheate." Since no hard evidence has been found to support the claims about the Rosicrucians or the identities of those named in his writings, which so unabashedly pick the pockets of others for their wit, we should probably count Heydon's sensational exposés as marketing devices.¹²⁴

Vaughan's last known connection with any reputed Rosicrucians occurred in 1659, when Hartlib's son-in-law told him about a mysterious adept who had arrived in London, claiming to be a Rosicrucian and possessing a French manuscript for the philosopher's stone.

Clod[ius's] Adept hath imparted unto Clod[ius] a MS. of the French Adepts (wch after hee had made good a Trial) was hanged for it by the Card. Richelieu. This MS. is the clearest Revelation that ever hath beene made written in a most rational and philosophical straine. F. C. C[lodius] will mightily repeat it.

The said Adept is mightily hunted after by Vaughan. It appeares by this Adept that hee is a member of a Society and that one of them lives in Lincoln-shire having a peculiar Motto or Tessera wherby they are distinguished.¹²⁵

Later entries in Hartlib's notebooks revealed that the author of the manuscript hanged by Richelieu was named "Du-boy or Du-boys" and that a Rosicrucian society had formed: "A Knight in Lincoln-shire S. Brownloe is held a Rosæcrucian and hath the Tesseram of Antilia."¹²⁶ Though Vaughan sought after this adept—and presum-

1662), VI, 20-21, 23.

¹²⁴ For Ashmole's quip, see *DNB*, IX, 769. Heydon shamelessly borrowed from the work of others without any sort of attribution: his preface to *The English Physicians Guide* was lifted from Bacon's *New Atlantis*; his treatise on the philosopher's stone, *Wise Man's Crown*, was based on Ashmole's *Way to Bliss*; his *Harmony of the World* was taken from Vaughan's works.

¹²⁵ Hartlib, *Ephemerides* (1659), SUL H 29.8.6a.

¹²⁶ *Ephemerides* (1659), SUL H 29.8.7a; (2 April 1660), SUL H 29.8.12a.

ably the Lincolnshire Rosicrucians—we have no record of his finding him. A bona fide brother of the Fraternity R. C. was a rare bird indeed.

After this resurgence of interest in the Rosicrucian brotherhood in the mid 1650s, a utopian scheme of similar provenance—a pan-sophical *collegium* of the sort advocated by Comenius and Andreae—was proposed by a Swedish aristocrat who may have been personally influenced by the originator of *Antilia*, Hein.

C. Bengt Skytte's Universum Collegium

Bengt Skytte (1614-1683) came to London in April 1659 to cultivate support for an alliance of Protestant states under the leadership of Karl Gustav (reigned 1654-1660) of Sweden.¹²⁷ Such a Protestant league had long been the dream of Cromwell, for which his secretary of state John Thurloe had oft labored. After Karl Gustav went to war against his fellow Protestants (1655-1660), Cromwell had to settle for a Baltic *Realpolitik* that would preserve Protestant hegemony in northern Europe as commercial interests began to outweigh religious affinities.¹²⁸ He feared a Sweden too strong (thus controlling all of the Baltic trade) or too weak (thus allowing the new emperor, Leopold of Hungary, to fill the power vacuum).¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Fritz Arnheim, "Freiherr Benedikt Skytte (1614-1683), der Urheber des Planes einer brandenburgischen 'Universal=Universität der Völker, Wissenschaften und Künste,'" in *Festschrift zu Gustav Schmollers 70. Geburtstag. Beiträge zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1908), p. 80. See also William W. Brickman, "Swedish Supranationalist in Education, Science, and Culture: Bengt Skytte (1614-1683)," in *Educational Roots and Routes in Western Europe*, ed. Brickman (Cherry Hill, NJ: Emeritus, 1985), pp. 48-87.

¹²⁸ When Sweden invaded Poland in July 1655, the conflict widened into a war with Russia; Denmark, encouraged by the Dutch, seized the opportunity to attack its Baltic rival in June 1657. Since it was feared that the Dutch would aid Denmark, Cromwell issued orders in October 1657 to equip a fleet to aid Sweden. The English and Dutch, however, agreed to mediate the conflict instead, leading to the treaty of Roskilde, February 1658. When Karl Gustav laid siege to Copenhagen in August 1658, the United Provinces sent a fleet to relieve the city; a new round of negotiations began that led to the Peace of Oliva in 1660. See David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World, 1492-1772* (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 183-92.

¹²⁹ See Godfrey Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II, 1658-1660* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1955), pp. 190-207; Michael Roberts, trans. and ed., *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655-1656* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1988), pp. 1-46; and Philip Aubrey, *Mr Secretary Thurloe: Cromwell's Secretary of State, 1652-1660* (London:

After Cromwell's death in September 1658, plans for an alliance under Swedish leadership were resurrected (though the Swedish king's sudden death in February 1660 ultimately thwarted them). While in London, Skytte also promoted a scheme of his own devising for a *collegium universum*.

Skytte had been nurtured on pansophical schemes by his father, Johan Bengtsson Skytte (1577-1645), one of Sweden's intellectual luminaries who had first gained the confidence of Gustavus Adolphus as his tutor (1602-1610).¹³⁰ Named the first chancellor of the University of Uppsala (1622), Skytte became the prime mover in modernizing Swedish higher education.¹³¹ During his tenure as governor-general of Livonia, he subsequently played the principal role in elevating the Gymnasium into the *Academia Dorpatensis* (1632), a non-sectarian university for preparing young men of the Baltic provinces from all estates to serve church and state.¹³² In 1642 he was one of Comenius's chief sponsors when the Moravian came to Sweden to help establish a national system of lower schools and advanced educational institutions. Both Johan and Bengt, too, were steadfast supporters of Dury's efforts for peace and unification during his 1636-1638 stay in Stockholm. When Charles I conferred a knighthood upon Bengt in 1629 (who was accompanying the Swedish ambassador to England), he did so "pour l'amour de votre père."

Athlone, 1990), pp. 168-82.

¹³⁰ Johan Bengtsson Schroderus was the son of a burgomaster; he assumed a new surname when he was created Baron Skytte in 1624 by Gustavus Adolphus; first called to the Råd (Swedish council of the realm) in 1617, he became governor-general of Livonia in 1629. In 1610 he was sent to England on an embassy to sound out James about a dynastic union – Gustavus Adolphus was certainly the favorite of the Princess Elizabeth, but the Queen, a Dane, was against it – at which time he befriended Bacon. In 1617 he came again to England in connection with a Swedish plan to unite all Protestant states for the struggle against Catholicism. See Arnheim, pp. 66-71; Nils Ahnlund, *Gustav Adolf the Great*, trans. Michael Roberts (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1940), pp. 32-35; William W. Brickman, "Sweden, Brandenburg-Prussia, and International Higher Education in the Seventeenth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 24 (1984):27-38; and Karl Siilivask, ed. *History of Tartu University, 1632-1982* (Tallinn: Periodika, 1985), pp. 22-27.

¹³¹ Knowing his own career was made possible largely by virtue of his education, Johan Skytte opened university admissions to the lower classes and also transformed the curriculum. He inaugurated a professorship in Rhetoric and Politics and restored an older building as the official residence of the holder of the chair, the Skytteanum, still a campus landmark; he secured tax-free lands and other donations to provide an endowment for the university.

¹³² See Siilivask, pp. 18-35. In 1583 the Jesuits had founded a secondary school at Dorpat. To counteract Jesuit influence and provide a base for their own power, the Swedes reestablished the Gymnasium in 1630.

Though Bengt and his brother formally matriculated at Uppsala, he probably began his actual studies at Leiden (1629-1630), upholding a long Swedish tradition of study abroad.¹³³ After a year, he took up residence briefly in the newly re-opened Gymnasium at Dorpat, before beginning his diplomatic career. After 1649, however, Bengt's influence with Queen Christina began to diminish. In the autumn of 1651, he sojourned at Comenius's home in Hungary for several weeks, where he was once again filled with enthusiasm for *pansophia*.¹³⁴ After the abdication of the queen, his situation improved as he was made governor of Estonia in 1655. Since he continued to file reports about Swedish territories in the Baltic, we know he spent time there. The odds for a personal relationship between Skytte and Hein are very favorable. Skytte had himself studied at the Gymnasium at Dorpat; his father had appointed Hein to his chair (which he held from 1632 to 1666); he was chancellor of the university from 1648 to 1649; and most importantly, he was committed to many of the same utopian ideals as Hein. (The only record of their relationship, though, is a single reference in a 1659 letter.¹³⁵)

Skytte's 1659 embassy to London allowed him to make the acquaintance of leading intellectuals. We know he was "one of the virtuosi" associating with the Gresham College group.¹³⁶ At a time when so many schemes for *collegia* were being projected, Skytte presented his own plan for an international refuge for *virtuosi*—sometimes referred to as *Sophopolis*. From Hartlib's letters to Dr. John Worthington, we know that Skytte had broached the matter with Charles II and drafted articles for a royal grant.

Lord Skytte, a Swedish nobleman of a senatorian rank in that kingdom, is one of the prime gentlemen, who it seems hath devoted the spending of his life and estate after this manner. His Excellency (for so he is called) sent me word that shortly he would wait upon me, w^{ch} I dare not own; but I suppose he intends to come and see me in my lodgings. If he

¹³³ Bengt was ten when his name appeared on the official *album studiosorum* of Uppsala in 1624. He matriculated at Leiden on 14 October 1629 (as his brother had before him), *Leiden*, I, 221.

¹³⁴ Arnheim, pp. 76-77.

¹³⁵ Letter, Hein to the rector, 1659, from Dorpat. This letter, which requests money owed to several professors, is held by the Handskriftsavdelningen of the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.

¹³⁶ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 1 January 1661; ed. Crossley, I, 257.

does so, I suppose I shall know the whole design more fully. I rec^d the papers without any explication, so that I do but guess that one of the papers contains the propositions which were made to his Majesty by the Lord Skytte, and the other a draught for the royal grant or patent w^{ch} is desired for the establishing of this foundation. Thus much is certain, that there is a meeting every week of the prime virtuosi, not only at Gresham College in term time, but also out of it, at Mr. Ball's chambers in the Temple. They desired his Maj[esty's] leave that they might thus meet or assemble y^mselves at all times, w^{ch} is certainly granted. Mr. Boyle, Dr. Wilkins, S^r Paul Neale, Viscount Brouncker, are some of the members. Mr. Wren is chosen Register. I look upon this society as a previous introduction of the grand design here represented. His Maj[esty] is sayd to profess himself one of those virtuosi.¹³⁷

Fortunately, a copy of this draft survives in a Latin manuscript in the British Library among Worthington's papers, a translation of which may be found in Appendix D.¹³⁸

The draft of the letters patent for Skytte's *universum collegium* describes an international residential college to house scholars and their families.¹³⁹ The forerunners for such a scheme can be traced to the best known literary utopias of the seventeenth century—Solomon's House from the *New Atlantis* and the central *collegium* and *laboratorium* in Andreae's *Christianopolis*—as well as to Comenius's *collegium lucis* and perhaps to Hein himself. Skytte believed that many worthy scientific endeavors failed because,

no one fixed place has been assigned and equipped with worthy Privileges, which would bind the arts and sciences, and such matters now ruined, unknown, divided and imperfect, into one foundation, in which persons eminent beyond others by their study and love would be received into its midst, be given a country and home and even joined with others in studies and experiments.

He envisioned a grand setting, complete with palaces, courts, promenades and parks. Membership would be open to talented men of all nations, with their families, who wished to conduct research.

¹³⁷ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 17 December 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 246-49.

¹³⁸ BL MS, Add. 6271, fols. 10^v-12^r. This copy, called the "Lord Skitts Designe towards practical Philosophy," was made for Worthington, based on a letter from John Beale to Hartlib, 14 January 1661.

¹³⁹ See William W. Brickman's unpublished monograph, "Stillborn City of Savants: Bengt Skytte (1614-1683) and His Sophopolis Scheme for an International University and Research Institute," 96 pp., William W. Brickman Collection (Box 106), Hoover Institution.

Fellows only had to offer proof of their abilities and agree to conform to the statutes of the *collegium*. Furthermore, they were free to stay as long as they wished and leave whenever they chose. Visitors were welcome. Materials needed for scientific research, including a printing press, as well as sustenance and clothing were to be provided. While freedom of conscience was guaranteed, all public worship had to conform to the rites of the Anglican church. The fellows were to have the same privileges as members of the royal household, and the directors were to have the same jurisdiction over the *collegium* as the king over the court.

Fellows would also retain rights to their intellectual property. They could either render one quarter of the profits to the crown in return for public privileges and protections, or they could cut a deal on their own:

To those who have discovered a Discipline or some Art useful to the public, we promise they will be given Privileges conforming to the Laws of the Realm, with this condition, that the fourth part of the Money fall to the treasury of this place. To those indeed who do not wish public Privilege, it shall be permitted for them to conduct their studies and Arts and other matters completed, to sell or give to others & to distribute according to the personal desire of each one.

While the king held supreme rights over the *collegium*, two directors would administer the business: one Englishman and the other a foreigner—doubtlessly Skytte himself, given his recent difficulties in Sweden. These two would adjudicate disputes; handle finances; assign quarters; buy books, art works and rarities with college funds; raise funds for the endowment; seek out discoveries or advances from different regions; and supply stipends for the needy: “and to do all this above in Piety for God, Trust in the Kings and Realm of Great Britain, Charity unto our neighbors, and even to be present with all those living in the College for the same purpose and lead the way by Authority, counsel and example.”

From the draft of the letters patent for the residential college and research center, with its centralized system of management and control, we can see how different his plan was from the more decentralized one adopted as the Royal Society. During the winter of 1660-1661, Skytte was busy canvassing support from the Gresham group as well as from Hartlib and his circle. In April 1661, Worthington asked Hartlib: “What becomes of the Virtuosi, of

whom you wrote? You say nothing of Lord Skytt's business; whether it proceeds, or doth vanish." Hartlib responded the next day, "There becomes nothing of Lord Skytt's business, & I believe the other virtuosi will not have it that [his Design] should go forward."¹⁴⁰ It is not difficult to surmise why a residential college run by a little known Swede would have failed to generate much enthusiasm, especially when the King's long-time confidant Moray was negotiating for another group. What Hartlib said about Cowley's plans (with its top-heavy administration – a chancellor and eight governors for twenty professors) is *à propos*: "I apprehend the Society meeting at Gresham College is too wise to be thus publicly directed."¹⁴¹

Seven years later Skytte proposed that Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, found a *Universitas Brandenburgica Gentium, Scientiarum et Artium*, which would extend to the *virtuosi* of all nations "exulantibus refugium et asylum, egregiarum animarum communionem, sodalitium bonarum mentium." While the concept for this international university derived from his earlier design (and Comenian *pansophia*), Skytte had even grander plans this time for the perquisites and facilities, which would now include a library, chemical laboratory, vivarium for exotic animals, herbarium, and arboretum. The Great Elector was at first supportive of the idea, but his advisers convinced him that Skytte's plan was a pretext for Swedish intrigues, so the end result was the same as before.¹⁴²

D. Antilia Rediviva

In the last, uncertain days of the Interregnum with the failure of the Puritan experiment in utopianism looming, Hartlib, despite his torment from gallstones, tried to interest his associates in a utopian brotherhood that he called interchangeably *Macaria* or *Antilia*. The former may have been the public term; the latter, a *tessera* used se-

¹⁴⁰ Letter, Worthington to Hartlib, 1 April 1661; ed. Crossley, I, 285-86. Hartlib to Worthington, 2 April 1661; I, 295-96.

¹⁴¹ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 26 August 1661; ed. Crossley, I, 366.

¹⁴² A copy of this proposal, dated 12 April 1667, was published by Johann Carl Conrad Oelrichs, *Commentationes Historico-Literariae* (Berlin, 1751), pp. 12-25; the quotation is from p. 13. See Arnheim, pp. 86-93; and Anders Grape, "Comenius, Bengt Skytte och Royal Society," *Lychnos* 1 (1936):319-30.

cretly by initiates. The details of this revived society have been obscured by Skytte's own plan for a research *collegium*, a plan which Hartlib confusingly endorsed as a fulfillment of the *Antilian* schemes he promoted. Distinctions between these two efforts have not previously been made.¹⁴³

Much of what we know of the revival of *Antilia* (fl. 1659-1660) derives from Hartlib's letters, especially with Worthington (1618-1671), master of Jesus College, Cambridge during the Interregnum. In addition to their common Puritan background – both studied at Emmanuel College – they were interested in intellectual brotherhoods and societies. Worthington, too, faced dislocations as the era was ending; after thirty years in Cambridge, he was ejected and moved into a rural parsonage at Ditton in October 1660. On 20 July 1659, Hartlib sent Worthington copies of Andreae's utopian tracts and broached the subject of building such societies:

The adjoined printed Discourse I believe you have not yet seen. The subject of it is very lovely and desirable. I like the exhortation better than the model itself, w^{ch} methinks is not comprehensive enough.¹⁴⁴

Though Andreae was not named here, Hartlib in this same letter to Worthington made the identification certain:

"I do extremely indulge the design of beginning the Buildings of Christian Societies in small Models. And in this point our Reformers may learn many parts of wisdom from our sorest adversaries. *O si esset noster!*" 'Tis strange to me, that the Model of Christian Society, and that curious offer of the right hand of Christian love hath taken no deeper footing in England. I hear that Mr. Ashmole hath published the orders of Rosy Crucians & Adepti. Can you tell me what esteem it bears?"¹⁴⁵

Hartlib evidently had been priming the pump with the remaining copies of Hall's translation of Andreae's tracts – which may have been reissued in 1657¹⁴⁶ – to generate enthusiasm for a new society.

¹⁴³ Purver, pp. 220-32, outlines the history of these events, yet she assumes that Skytte's plan and *Antilia* were the same and that Andreae had been involved with the Baltic society.

¹⁴⁴ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 20 July 1659; ed. Crossley, I, 149-51.

¹⁴⁵ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 20 July 1659; ed. Crossley, I, 156-57. Hartlib is here transmitting Beale's endorsement of the tracts.

¹⁴⁶ Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 105, states that in 1657 an edition appeared titled, *Of the Advantageous Reading of History. By I. Hall, late of Grayes-Inne, Esquire. To which are added, A Model of a Christian Society, and the Right Hand of Christian Love etc. Translated by the same Author.* I have been unable to locate a copy.

In fact he mentioned that Captain Shane, an Irish gentleman, had set aside a thousand acres for such a society and Lord Newport intended to establish one in Northamptonshire.¹⁴⁷ Hartlib sent copies wherever he thought the ideas might take hold. As master of a Cambridge college and a prominent Puritan, Worthington would have proved a valuable ally to such a project and was indeed interested.¹⁴⁸

Information on *Antilia* derives also from letters to Hartlib by Joachim Polemann, a German physician and alchemist living in Amsterdam, well-regarded for a work explaining van Helmont's secret of the sulphur of the philosophers.¹⁴⁹ Hartlib wrote Polemann concerning this society about the same time he took Worthington into his confidence (July 1659). Though the originals are no longer extant, Hartlib fortunately had copies made to circulate within his network. BL MS, Sloane 648 contains extracts of thirteen letters from Polemann, which Hartlib had numbered, labeled, and grouped for ease in dissemination, whose flyleaf was titled:¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 20 July 1659; ed. Crossley, I, 151-53. Nothing came of these plans. For an account of Worsley's venture to establish a center for "correspondency" in Ireland, see J. J. O'Brien, "Commonwealth Schemes for the Advancement of Learning," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 16 (1968):36-39.

¹⁴⁸ Hartlib, in his 7 November 1659 letter to Worthington, ed. Crossley, I, 159, wrote that he expected a "formal declaration in print" of "that most desirable Society" – i.e., *Antilia*: "As soon as it shall come forth, God willing, I shall not fail to acquaint you with a copy of it."

¹⁴⁹ Polemann was born at Stettin in the 1620s, judging by the fact that he was not old enough to take the oath upon matriculation at Greifswald on 13 June 1637, *Greifswald*, I, 562. His major work was *Novum Lumen Medicum, in welchem die vortrefliche Lehre des . . . Philosophi Helmontii von dem hohen Geheimnüs des Sulphuris Philosophorum erkläret wirdt* (Amsterdam, 1659), which was published in English (London, 1662) and Latin (in the sixth volume of Zetzner's *Theatrum Chemicum* [Strasbourg, 1661]). For a contemporary tribute, see Oldenburg's 4 February 1660 letter to Hartlib, in *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, 1641-1662*, ed. A. Rupert Hall & Marie Boas Hall (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1965), I, 350-53. Hartlib also kept abreast of Polemann's experiments, as his 29 November 1659 letter to Boyle, *Works*, VI, 136, reveals: since Polemann had encountered difficulties in making "calx and spirit of wine join together," Hartlib asked Boyle, who had had success in so doing, "to favour Mr. Poleman with your directions which you have observed." SUL H 26.69.1 is a memorandum formally endorsing Polemann's experiments.

¹⁵⁰ Hartlib's numbering system shows that Polemann corresponded several times each month during the summer and fall of 1659 (twenty times in all); in addition, several letters from 1660 can be found in the Hartlib papers. Several of the Sloane MS extracts dealt only with astrology and alchemy, as do similar extracts in the Hartlib's papers – e.g., "Processus Calcis viva Basilii" (SUL H 16.1.64), "Le process de Lucas Stats de faire

Antilia Or German Society Imago Societatis

This designation clearly signaled the groups's antecedents.

The first few letters confirm this new society was a revival of the earlier one, whose history Polemann knew through a former member, Michaël Weide of Torun. Polemann heard that the efforts of Fridwald, Hein, and many others in Germany to establish *Antilia* had been hindered by the war and the death of its principals. He furthermore labelled *Dextra Amoris* and *Imago societatis* as sketches of this society.¹⁵¹ Hartlib must have asked specifically about the former leaders, for Polemann then related that Fridwald had died two years before, Hein had been driven from Dorpat by the Muscovites and was *in exilio* at Rostock, and Pömer had become a Papist in Sulzbach.¹⁵² Polemann also told him about similar societies, reporting that Abraham von Frankenberg, the Silesian alchemist and patron of Böhme, and his own father-in-law, the mathematician Tobias Königk, had once formed a group that had become so loose it no longer met.¹⁵³ In his very first letter, Polemann also expressed certain reservations about the society's elitist nature, preferring to promote the *bonum publicum* "through a right Christian reformation in all classes."¹⁵⁴ When Hartlib wrote, alleviating any concerns about the society's intentions, Polemann was overjoyed and offered to help publicize the society:

To your very agreeable letter of 9 September, I begin my answer properly, Sir, on the joyful tidings of such a society, since it is necessary for the commonwealth to raise sufficient funds for the honor of God and the edification of the *boni publici*, over which, as an eager though minor

un bon Aurum potabile" (16.1.81-82), and a series of Polemann's reports on the alchemist Johann Glauber (60.10.1-2). Kvačala, I, 347-50, edited five extracts from Sloane 648; the dates are inaccurate, though, since he confused the identifying number with the date.

¹⁵¹ Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 25 July 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 11^{r-v}.

¹⁵² Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 15 August 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 11^r.

¹⁵³ Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 25 July 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 11^{r-v}. Frankenberg was Hartlib's classmate at Brieg in 1611, according to K. F. Schönwälder and J. J. Guttman, *Geschichte des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg* (Breslau, 1869), p. 89. A Tobias Königk from Angermünde studied at Frankfurt a. O. in 1633, but I have been unable to discover anything about him.

¹⁵⁴ Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 4 July 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 11^v.

promoter of such a good, I am, Sir, so overjoyed that I cannot sufficiently attest.¹⁵⁵

Whatever Hartlib said was enough to engage fully Polemann's enthusiasm, for he gushed floridly about his joyful tears over the news of this blessed society and included an "unworthy, modest proposal" of his own devising for Hartlib's perusal.

These early letters also reveal that the society would have an educational objective, as well as the broader goal of advancing learning, first in England – perhaps with Parliamentary support – then continuing on the continent. He later recommended three potential members, all of whom had strong backgrounds in education: Justus Doccemius, noted for his Latinity and mastery of Comenian methodology; Matthias Drudius, a scholar of Hebrew and Greek; and a Dr. Ketius.¹⁵⁶ We also learn that Polemann was much impressed by Hartlib's avowal that these latter Antilians possessed *die hohe gabe der transmutation*, the long sought secret of the ages. He saw the need for secrecy in such a case and was impressed that the Antilians were about to declare themselves publicly.

Yesterday your latest of 23 September arrived and I cannot say enough how highly you pleased me with the continuation regarding the society and that the same may make itself known in a few days. Above all this pleases me most, that my intent actually accords with that of the society. You will have understood a week ago what a warm desire I have to provide the young with a proper system for upbringing and information, so that from them, as from good seed, afterward can emerge competent, right Christian, godly, learned men and a Republic. . . . I would also like very much to be informed by you, how they will be able to carry out their plans without raising suspicion about others coming into possession of their philosophy [i.e., secrets], inasmuch as I suspect hereunto quite a few difficulties, though as wise people they will well know such difficulty can occur. . . . I consider it so secret, that I will not even tell Mr. Comenius about it for a few weeks: since everyman cannot comprehend and grasp such things always. Should it quickly come to fruition though, I would not hesitate to reveal such matters to Mr. Comenius as my dearest friend. . . . I wish also to understand that this society wants to proclaim itself publicly in other countries, as they must necessarily do with the knowledge and consent of the government in England. It must

¹⁵⁵ Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 3 October 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 12^r; Kvačala, I, 347.

¹⁵⁶ Justus Doccemius, a jurist, later lived in Hamburg (c. 1665-1669). Matthias Drudius of Obesfelden matriculated at Rostock in October 1639, *Rostock*, III, 118.

therefore follow that some of these people themselves must be members of Parliament or at least held in great respect: So must Parliament also be totally in agreement and satisfied with their plans; or otherwise they would drive such men out. Most of all though I continue to wonder whether they will confide in the Parliament—through which means they will be able to effect such an excellent plan—or what sort of pretext and cover they may use to conceal and cloak their high gift of *transmutation*. Please inform me thoroughly on this.¹⁵⁷

The second half of this long letter concerned itself further with the matter of secrecy. As an experimental chemist himself, Polemann recognized that the Antilians would need to “cloak their high gift of *transmutation*” and shield their negotiations with Parliament. (Withholding news of these activities from Comenius may have been in deference to the Moravian’s declining health.¹⁵⁸) At first glance, Polemann’s speculations on the political negotiations then underway might seem to refer to Skytte’s *pourparlers* with those close to Charles II; however, since his *Design* had nothing to do with education or experimental chemistry *per se*, this seems unlikely. In the absence of any corroborating evidence, these “negotiations” should be taken mostly as a measure of the Antilians’ high aspirations.

In October and November 1659, Polemann and Hartlib discussed the all important issue of finance, for without its *Fortunat-Säcklein*, as he called it, *Antilia* could not flourish. Since he believed its purpose—the honor of almighty God and the sincere love of one’s neighbor—altogether admirable, he declared that he would support it fully: “when the succinctly drafted plan and form of governance for Antilia actually will be known to me, and the official means thereto would be given, I may add myself to them according to the will and direction of my saviour.” He requested that these documents and news of any developments be posted to Rulicius,

¹⁵⁷ Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 10 October 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fols. 12^v-13^v; ed. Kvačala, I, 347-49.

¹⁵⁸ Turnbull, *HDC*, p. 380, points out that Hartlib was well aware of the condition of Comenius, who had been in Amsterdam since June 1658. Comenius already seemed to know something was afoot in England, for he had written to Hartlib the previous spring, through Dury, proposing that they renew their commitment to common purposes (perhaps with the 1642 *Fœderis fraterni* in mind). Comenius pledged to continue his pansophical projects, while Dury and Hartlib, being at the heart of things, could help rescue it from the ruins (“video adesse rerum nervos . . . ad exsequenda consilia reparandis ruinis destinata”). See the letter to Dury, 4 April 1659, from Amsterdam; ed. Adolf Patera, *Jana Amosa Komenského Korrespondence* (Prague, 1892), pp. 209-11.

minister of the German church in Amsterdam and Hartlib's old friend, with whom he shared information on *Antilia* and who was better able to pay for them. In this letter Polemann also indicated that Peter Figulus, who had worked with Dury on pacification and with Comenius, was involved, that Comenius's patron de Geer was a possible supporter, and that a *Baron* (presumably English) was interested in membership.¹⁵⁹

On 21 November 1659, Polemann indicated that the financial situation had since improved, "wegen der unvermerklichen wechsel mit den Kauffleuten" (perhaps involving de Geer). We should also recall that Fridwald had similarly undertaken mercantile ventures to raise funds for *Antilia*.

The last detail to be gleaned from Polemann's correspondence is that the Antilians were under suspicion of *Schwärmerei* or enthusiasm – a common charge against groups that removed themselves from public scrutiny. A pious man, Polemann harbored reservations about whether the Antilians were sufficiently dedicated to what he considered the only true path to wisdom: Christ. Once reassured on this point by Hartlib, he was ready to commit fully to them, demurring only that he was unworthy of the honor but trusting in the hand of God, "who, as a proper and unique expert of the heart, best knows the gifts of everyone (inasmuch as he has given and bestowed them indeed to his many children) and thus also best knows to join like with like."¹⁶⁰ Thus in the late autumn of 1659, Polemann was quite committed to the utopianism of the latter Antilians and, like Worthington, waited only for them to proclaim themselves openly.¹⁶¹ Both he and Hartlib expected a *Declaratio* to be published imminently (three copies of which he requested for himself).

In his notes and correspondence that year (1659), Hartlib remained optimistic about this resurrected society, based on his belief

¹⁵⁹ Letter, Polemann to Hartlib, 31 October 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fols. 13^v-14^r, 15^r; partially ed. Kvačala, I, 349-50. Polemann's report about a rare metallic optical mirror in de Geer's possession that was shown to him, Comenius and Figulus (letter to Hartlib, 14 November 1659, from Amsterdam, SUL H 8.19.1) demonstrates their common scientific interests.

¹⁶⁰ Polemann to Hartlib, 21 November 1659, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fols. 14^v-15^r; partially ed. Kvačala, I, 350.

¹⁶¹ Polemann too was disappointed and gave up hope. In his last letter to Hartlib, 2 January 1660, from Amsterdam, BL MS, Sloane 648, fol. 10^v, he referred only obliquely to the society. The extract mostly concerns the writings of Jacob Böhme.

that superior experimental chemistry would lead to extraordinary advances in knowledge and more readily available money for pet projects. (In this Hartlib was an absolute apostle of Baconianism; his papers are filled with notices of schemes and technologies that would benefit humankind.) In discussing the progress made by others searching for a universal medicine and tincture, Hartlib wrote Boyle that even “if it should fail, I am assured from others, that *Macaria* is a real possessor of both these great blessings, but will own neither of them professedly. But this only amongst ourselves [i.e., keep it secret].”¹⁶² He was convinced that these secrets would lead to great profits, reassuring Worthington that, “If *Macaria* were but once extant or acting, I am still of my former opinion, that they have enough for the purchasing of such things, & for the accomplishing of harder matters.”¹⁶³ For example, he promised Boyle that manuscripts of interest would no longer have to be copied so inefficiently but would soon “be printed upon the charges of *Macaria*, whose scope it is most professedly to propagate religion, and to endeavour the reformation of the whole world.”¹⁶⁴ One such project was the “printing of the Lithuanian Bible . . . w^{ch} I could have promoted by blessed *Macaria*, who is willing and able to do it, as soon as they shall have any being to other men’s observations, w^{ch} I hope will be very shortly, as I have been again & again secretly assured.”¹⁶⁵ Hartlib recorded in his daybook other scientific advances attributed to those involved with *Antilia*: “*Antiliani* imparted to Clod[ius] that Sal-peter put in Ale Biere wine. etc. would make it refreshing preserving quick cooling in winter time a little to Coole. Also ein saltzlake vor die butter.”¹⁶⁶ In April 1660, he named “Gothier of Lyons in Fraunce one of the supposed Adeptus of *Antilia* here” and declared that “A Knight in Lincoln-shire S. Brownloe is held a Rosæcrucian and hath the Tesseract of *Antilia*.”¹⁶⁷ Later he noted that “*Antilia* should buy out the Receipt of the excellent Medecin of Mr Beales Friend conc[erning] curing of Astma and pleurisy”; and he noted “Opera *Macaria* to publish Petits Notes upon Josephus. *Macaria* [to] erect a conduit at

¹⁶² Letter, Hartlib to Boyle, 29 November 1659; ed. in *Works*, VI, 136.

¹⁶³ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 4 June 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 194-95.

¹⁶⁴ Letter, Hartlib to Boyle, 15 November 1659, *Works*, VI, 132.

¹⁶⁵ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 13 February 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 180-81.

¹⁶⁶ *Ephemerides* (1660), SUL H 29.8.11a.

¹⁶⁷ *Ephemerides* (1660), SUL H 29.8.12a.

Charing-crosse.”¹⁶⁸ Hartlib was manifestly convinced that these various improvements could all be exploited for the commonweal and that the Antilians were closer and closer to public disclosure.

Since early November 1659, then, Hartlib had been waiting on the printed *Declaratio* of this society. On 4 June 1660, he was still waiting, though more guardedly: “The last secret information tells they are agreed. I believe that they will now within a very few days publicly appear.”¹⁶⁹ Within a few months, as he sadly confessed, these hopes had once again been dashed: “We were wont to call the desirable Society by the name of Antilia, and sometimes by the name of Macaria: but name & thing is as good as vanished.” Both Hartlib and Worthington were in agreement about the cause of its failure – its secretiveness. “You [Worthington, in his 12 October 1660 letter] say very well, that if Macaria had discovered themselves, not only Mr. P[ell] but very many other excellent persons should have been partakers of it. There is no more to be sayd of them.”¹⁷⁰ Backers, in other words, would have come forward in support had the proponents of *Antilia* not veiled themselves in mystery. Worthington made this abundantly clear a few weeks later in his next letter.

Neither know I why in your late letters the name Antilia was given to that nothing, as it now proves: And so indeed a friend of ours always suspected that it would appear to be but words. For my part the design did pretend to such high things and stupendous effects (and yet the causes were so hidden, and appeared so little) that I could never much build upon it, or expect an issue agreeable to its pretensions. Nothing kept me in any measure of supposing some reality, but the discourse of a worthy friend; who if he had conversed immediately (and not per internuntios) would in his sagacity have smelled it out. Therefore the internuntii have the greater sin. Christ said of the kingdom of God, That it comes not with observation; not with any amusing pomp, or pretended magnificence (as the designs of men) such as affects to beget admiration and talk in the world. The best things, such as are of greatest use and importance, and those who would promote them in the world, are more modest, more distant from pretending, from affecting the praise and stupid admiration of men. *Mediocria firma. Moderata durant*. In a late letter I wrote freely (as I am wont) of a society more desirable (and less pretending to wonders) which in good time may find place in the

¹⁶⁸ *Ephemerides* (1660), SUL H 29.8.14b; 29.8.16a.

¹⁶⁹ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 4 June 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 195.

¹⁷⁰ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 15 October 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 211, 214–15.

earth; wherein the Theoprepiian dispositions may attract and unite such modest souls in whom there is no guile.¹⁷¹

In retrospect Worthington now saw that the design only *pretended* to “high things and stupendous effects”; the foundation for this mighty edifice was weak. As a result, he had pinned his hopes on a new society, whose members, he strongly implied, would be less immodest, less pretentious, and guileless.

Hartlib’s response to Worthington’s charge provides us with some of the most interesting details of the society by helping to explain the connection with Skytte’s own *Design*.

The word Antilia I used because of a former society, that was really begun almost to the same purpose a little before the Bohemian wars. It was as it were a tessera of that society, used only by the members thereof. I never desired the interpretation of it. It was interrupted and destroyed by the following Bohemian and German wars. But if I had known it would have proved a great nothing, I would never have given them that denomination w^{ch} I had used to give that society, w^{ch} I knew was real. The cheats of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross (w^{ch} they call mysteries) have had infinite disguises and subterfuges. The internuntii of the Antilians have certainly the greater sin. But I dare not lay this fault upon the conscience of the heroick and candid soul of the chief internuntius to me, who believed verily that there was such a thing, tho’ I have blamed him often for his over credulity, as it now proves.¹⁷²

Hartlib here traced the lineage of the latter society back to the earlier group on the Baltic, whose name it bore, and hinted that those who had deceived him were charlatans like the Rosicrucians. We cannot tell much from the dating: “Before the Bohemian wars” should mean before 1618, but “destroyed by the following Bohemian and German wars” may point to the late 1620s when the war was brought to the north. Also noteworthy is the fact that the word “Antilia” was used only as a *tessera* of which Hartlib never “desired the interpretation”; it was for him, as he later referred to it, a “mystical word.”¹⁷³ Worthington confirmed that “Antilia was a secret

¹⁷¹ Letter, Worthington to Hartlib, 29 November 1660, from Ditton near Cambridge; ed. Crossley, I, 238. In a 25 October 1660 letter, as he contemplated his future away from Cambridge, Worthington trusted in God to provide a “select society,” knowing “There are about London some excellent souls whose spirits being more kindly affected towards God would easily unite” (I, 225).

¹⁷² Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 10 December 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 239-41.

¹⁷³ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 17 December 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 246.

tessera used by that society. Macaria (the word we used in our letters) is too good a word for this late pretending company).¹⁷⁴ Even though the Antilians, reputedly, were still preparing a “certain apology, showing how they have been abused by those to whom they had made y^r application,”¹⁷⁵ Hartlib was as bitter as Worthington at having been deceived. So he tars them with the brush of Rosicrucianism, though carefully excluding the “chief internuntius,” Skytte, who had been duped as well.

When Skytte (who had been in London since April 1659) finally was introduced to Hartlib late in 1660 and confided his own plans for a *universum collegium*—which held forth “almost the same things as the other Antilia”—Hartlib was optimistic once again that an association with such roots might flourish. He believed that the veil of secrecy shrouding such efforts, which had doomed *Antilia rediviva*, had at last been lifted and that Skytte’s *Design* might succeed in its stead. In his next letter to Worthington, Hartlib clearly differentiated between the two groups, “the other Antilia” and those now “walking in the light”:

In the [10 December 1660] letter I answered not so fully as now I shall, that passage in your last, Nov. 29, about Antilia. For since I have rec^d some other papers, that have been confided to me, holding forth almost the same things as the other Antilia (for be not offended if I continue to use this mystical word) but, as I hope, to better purpose. At least, the authors and founders walking in the light, we shall know from time to time how this proposed affair is managed by them. Lord Skytte, a Swedish nobleman of a senatorian rank in that kingdom, is one of the prime gentlemen, who it seems hath devoted the spending of his life and estate after this manner. . . . Thus much is certain, that there is a meeting every week of the prime virtuosi, not only at Gresham College in term time, but also out of it. . . . I look upon this society as a previous introduction of the grand design here represented.¹⁷⁶

While Hartlib indicated that Skytte’s “grand design” was similar to both the earlier *Antilia* and the Gresham group, these three efforts

¹⁷⁴ Letter, Worthington to Hartlib, [some time after 15 December 1660]; ed. Crossley, I, 244. Apparently, others followed the same practice of keeping the name “Antilia” secret: in a November 1659 letter to Hartlib, BL MS, Add. 15948, fol. 82^{r-v}, John Beale asked for some news of “Macaria,” which he first referred to as “Antilia” then crossed it out; cited by Charles Webster, *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Platter, Samuel Hartlib and “Macaria”* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979), p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, [October 1660]; ed. Crossley, I, 228.

¹⁷⁶ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 17 December 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 245-49.

must be carefully differentiated. The Antilians who so rankled Hartlib and Worthington were immodest, pretentious, and too secretive. The prime *virtuosi* mentioned by Hartlib were among the most eminent experimental researchers in England. As discussed above, Skytte had been meeting with them in hopes of promoting his own scheme for a research *collegium*. When Hartlib said “I look upon this society as a previous introduction of the grand design here represented,” we should recognize that he saw the group of *virtuosi* meeting together—who were negotiating for royal patronage—as the fulfillment of the dream of *Antilia* and of Skytte’s own scheme, just as Comenius would claim a few years later in the printed edition of *Via Lucis* (1668).

Hartlib continued to solicit and transmit news of other plans to advance learning. Henry Oldenburg, for example, wrote him about the ongoing meetings for scientific discussion organized by Henri-Louis Habert de Montmor at his house in Paris.¹⁷⁷ But the dream of an *Antilia* in England was over. Hartlib had conceded already that the Bermudas were now the “fittest receptacle for the gallantest spirits to make up a real Macaria.”¹⁷⁸ When Worthington likewise observed a few months later, “Because you write nothing of the Antilian Society, I suppose the smoak is over,” Hartlib could only respond, “Of the Antilian Society the smoke is over, but the fire is not altogether extinct. It may be it will flame in due time, though not in Europe.”¹⁷⁹ In fact, a Dutchman Peter Plockhoy was then negotiating for the emigration of persecuted minorities and the unemployed to a colony in Bermuda that would be called Macaria.¹⁸⁰ Others, notably Cromwell’s former chaplain, Peter Sterry, founded communities or academies for Nonconformists in

¹⁷⁷ Letter, Oldenburg to Hartlib, 30 July 1659, from Paris; ed. in *Correspondence*, I, 291–92.

¹⁷⁸ Letter, Hartlib to Worthington, 15 October 1660; ed. Crossley, I, 211–12.

¹⁷⁹ Letter, Worthington to Hartlib, 24 June 1661; ed. Crossley, I, 339. Hartlib to Worthington, 26 June 1661; I, 342.

¹⁸⁰ See J. K. Fuz, *Welfare Economics in English Utopias From Francis Bacon to Adam Smith* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952), pp. 55–62. Plockhoy (b. 1620) was for a time associated with the Dutch *Collegiants*, but he went to England in 1658. His pamphlet, *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in These and Other Nations Happy* (London, 1659), promoted a plan for social justice in which individuals would invest labor and capital in joint stock companies. In a later work *Kort en klar ontwerp* (1662), he proposed emigration of the poor to places such as Bermuda organized on a company basis. He himself emigrated to Pennsylvania.

rural enclaves.¹⁸¹ Facing a newly restored monarch with an agenda of his own, Hartlib, in failing health, quietly faded from the scene.

¹⁸¹ On the society at West Sheen priory in Richmond, see Nabil I. Matar, "'Alone In Our Eden': A Puritan Utopia in Restoration England," *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987):189-98, and "Peter Sterry and the Comenian Circle: Education and Eschatology in Restoration Nonconformity," *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 5 (1994):183-92.

AFTERWORD

“PHILOSOPHICALL AND MATHEMATICO-MECHANICAL KING”: CHARLES II AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

Somme whisper the king should be a Teutonicus and lover of chymistry.
Hartlib to Worthington, 1660 letter

The enshrinement of the Royal Society as the official, public forum for the new science would have led, in all probability, to the decline of the small learned societies if for no other reason than the extraordinary status lent by royal patronage. The process was accelerated when the fellows successfully laid the foundation for the myth that the Royal Society represented the fulfillment of Bacon's vision for the new philosophy by writing the “history” of their society almost immediately. In the *Great Instauration* the scientist was an open-minded observer of nature who did not form opinions until significant facts pointed to a scientific judgment, while the superstitious person was a dogmatist who speculated by conjuring hypotheses. At the same time, the status of alchemy began to change as a direct result of rigorous empirical evidence that disproved many of its specific claims in the laboratory. Those who would continue to seek to discover its mysteries did so in private.

Ironically, the monarch who extended royal patronage to this new scientific institution, granting it a distinguished coat of arms and presenting it with its mace, was himself steeped in the older traditions of experimental chemistry. Though his most recent biographer has almost entirely trivialized the intellectual pursuits of Charles II and attributed any curiosity about the natural world to modish imitation,¹ contemporary reports of the king's scientific ac-

¹ Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989), p. 450, writes: “his personal contribution to the sciences seems to have been as shallow as that to the arts, and the fact that the Royal Society was founded during his reign owed more to initiatives of the nation's learned men than any views on the part of the sovereign.”

tivities offer a very different portrait. Even a brief survey will show that he was dedicated to private alchemical experiments and that he recognized no disparity between his own activities and the Royal Society's.

Charles's courts in Paris and the Netherlands had certainly been vilified in the Puritan press for moral laxity and hedonism, but the learned in England discovered that their king had developed certain intellectual passions during his long exile. When he returned to power (and was relieved of the penury that had so cramped him during his exile), Charles brought his own chemist and royal apothecary, Nicolas Le Fèvre (c. 1610-1669), formerly professor of chemistry and botany at the Jardin du Roi. A disciple of Paracelsus, van Helmont and Glauber, Le Fèvre was a iatrochemist who prepared chemical remedies.² Accordingly he established a physic garden and laboratory in Whitehall. He also joined the Gresham College meetings and was admitted to the Royal Society on 4 December 1661 (having been proposed by Moray). Charles, by all accounts, was not merely a curious on-looker; he regularly spent his time preparing medicines and conducting experiments in the royal laboratory, which he displayed to other *virtuosi*.³ Evelyn recorded that he "accompanied his Majestie to *Monsieur Febure* his *Chymist* (& who had formerly ben my Master in *Paris*) to see his accurate preparation for the composing of Sir *Walter Raleighs* rare *Cordial*, he making a learned discourse before his Majestie in French on each Ingredient."⁴ When Pepys visited "the King's little elaboratory under his closet" with Lord Brouncker and Moray (on 15 January 1669), he was overwhelmed by the collection of chemical glasses and apparatus.⁵ Serious men hailed Charles's scientific aptitude. The outspoken Bishop Gilbert Burnet affirmed that the king was a "good chemist, and much set on several preparations of mercury, chiefly

² His magnum opus appeared in English as *A Compleat Body of Chymistry* (1662). For a summary of Le Fèvre's iatrochemistry, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VIII, 130-33; and Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), II, 448-53. The physician in ordinary to Charles II and James II, Edmund Dickenson (1624-1707), was also a practicing alchemist.

³ Arthur Bryant, *King Charles II* (London: Longmans, 1931), p. 210, writes that Charles, according to the French ambassador, "invariably spent several hours a day making experiments in his laboratory."

⁴ On 20 September 1662; see Evelyn, *Diary*, III, 336.

⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, vol. IX (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1976), pp. 415-16.

the fixing it.”⁶ Robert Wood (one of the Oxford “Club-Men” who had also studied mathematics with Oughtred) wrote Hartlib conveying William Petty’s generous estimation of Charles:

we now had a Philosophicall and Mathematico-Mechanical King, one that cared not for the vulgar exercise of the Body, nor the ordinary nugaments of the mind: [Petty] knew that character would please me, and indeed under such a virtuoso why may not something rare and extraordinarie be expected.⁷

Such a king could indeed be expected to provide the long-awaited “Solomon’s House.”

Charles was an enthusiastic *fundator et patronus* of the Royal Society and was himself inducted in 1665. While it may have been unbefitting for a king to dispute publicly (he proposed visits on several occasions without ever actually attending), he participated nonetheless through Moray and Sir Paul Neile. They relayed Charles’s questions about why certain plants contracted to the touch or why ants’ eggs were larger than the insect itself. Moray, who presided regularly over meetings from March 1661 to July 1662 and who was described by Christiaan Huygens as the “soul” of the society, also reported on the king’s own experiments on keeping sturgeon in fresh water in St. James’ Park.⁸ Perhaps Charles’s most celebrated contribution were the “glass bubbles” acquired by Prince Rupert in Holland that were exhibited before the Royal Society on 4 March 1661. These tear-drop shaped beads produced a great deal of excitement since they were remarkably strong even though delicately shaped.⁹ Having had glass-house experience in Holland, Moray conducted experiments on them himself; his description of their properties when dropped into water while hot was one of his few

⁶ Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1897-1900) I, 167.

⁷ Letter, Wood to Hartlib, 23 March 1661, from Dublin; quoted by G. H. Turnbull, “Samuel Hartlib’s Influence on the Early History of the Royal Society,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 10 (1953):121n. For Wood’s letters to Hartlib, see SUL H 33.1.1-78.

⁸ See C. A. Ronan and Harold Hartley, “Sir Paul Neile, F. R. S. (1613-1686),” and D. C. Martin, “Sir Robert Moray, F. R. S. (1608?-1637),” in *The Royal Society: Its Origins and Founders*, ed. Harold Hartley (London: Royal Society, 1960), pp. 159-65, 239-50. See also Alexander Robertson, *The Life of Sir Robert Moray: Soldier, Statesman and Man of Science (1608-1673)* (London: Longmans, 1922), pp. 148-69.

⁹ See Laurel Brodsley, Charles Frank, and John W. Steeds, “Prince Rupert’s Drops,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 41 (1986): 1-26.

recorded contributions to the Royal Society.¹⁰ (These were undoubtedly the “chymical glasses” that later mystified Pepys.)

Moray obviously was in close contact with the king. According to Wood and Aubrey, he “assisted his Majestie in his Chymicall operations” at Whitehall.¹¹ Vaughan may very well have been part of these experiments with Moray, for when Charles left London for Oxford to escape the plague in July 1665, Vaughan was part of the entourage (“vpon an imployment for his majesty,” according to his brother).¹² He and Moray took lodging at the rectory in Albury with Samuel Kem (1604-1670), where Oughtred had held court for so many years. During one of their experiments, he was accidentally killed: “as it were suddenly, when he was operating strong mercury, some of which by chance getting up into his nose killed him.”¹³

If we look at the actual records of the Royal Society’s early meetings, as they are preserved in Thomas Birch’s *History of the Royal Society of London* (1756-1757), we find research similar to that conducted at Whitehall. Boyle, perhaps the greatest “scientist” in the early years, reported regularly on natural monstrosities and other such curiosities as milk found in the veins instead of blood, a place where wood is turned into stone, etc. Likewise the catalogue prepared in 1681 by Nehemiah Grew of the Society’s museum seems at odds with the official view that reason was defeating superstition, for it contained such bizarre exhibits as a “tooth taken out of the testicle” and a “bone said to be taken out of a maremaid’s head.”¹⁴ Boyle, moreover, informed the Royal Society in 1676 that he had accomplished the essential preliminary step in the transmutation of metals – purifying mercury so that it generated heat when mixed with gold – in his youth but had kept it secret.¹⁵ As K. Theodore

¹⁰ Item 14 of the first Register Book of the Royal Society, BL MS, Sloane 243, fols. 39^r-42^r, is “An Account of Glasse Drops by S^r. Robert Moray.”

¹¹ *Athene Oxonienses*, III, 722; *Aubrey’s Brief Lives*, p. 282.

¹² Letter, Henry Vaughan to John Aubrey, 15 June 1673, from Brecon, Bodleian Library MS, Wood F 39, fol. 216, in *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, ed. L. C. Martin, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1957), p. 687.

¹³ Wood, *Athene Oxonienses*, III, 725. Vaughan died on 27 February 1666 and was buried in the village churchyard at Moray’s expense. All his remaining books and manuscripts were left in Moray’s hands, except those early poems Henry published in *Thalia Rediviva* (1678).

¹⁴ Hoppen, p. 8.

¹⁵ Hoppen, pp. 6-7. On his transmutation, see Roger Pilkington, *Robert Boyle, Father*

Hoppen has shown, the Royal Society's conception of natural philosophy was broad indeed, given the hermetic interests of Moray, Henshaw, Ashmole, Paston, and Robert Plot, the preoccupation with the spirit world of Joseph Glanvill, Aubrey, and Henry More, and the alchemical research of John Winthrop, Kenelm Digby, Le Fèvre, and Newton: "These men were not rare, isolated, or marginal figures within the Royal Society, and many further examples of the continuing allure exercised by the occult and esoteric could be produced from a study of the society's papers and correspondence."¹⁶ We must regard such categories as "empirical" or "Baconian" warily. Much of our notion of the "occult" was, after all, created by institutionalized science as the category "natural magic" disappeared, part becoming science, the rest discarded as superstition.

A similar proclivity for the exotic also characterized learned groups on the continent, such as the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum*, a society of physicians interested in studying the medicinal properties of nature founded in 1652 at Schweinfurt by J. L. Bausch. Their annual *Miscellanea Curiosa* (published in Latin from 1670 at Leipzig) provided observations, exchanges and news of international science. An examination of these early records reveals a fascination with *mirabilia* that stretches back at least as far as Pliny. The first issue of this scientific journal, for example, contained a serious disquisition on *aurum chymicum*.¹⁷ At Harvard College where the science curriculum was quite congenial to experimental chemistry during the seventeenth century, as William Newman has recently shown, alchemical and iatrochemical issues were typical items of debate in master's theses.¹⁸

Popular culture demonstrates even more clearly that traditional forms and beliefs were strongly held. Keith Thomas's classic study, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, teaches us that magical beliefs played an important social function in early modern England.¹⁹ Magical

of Chemistry (London: Murray, 1959), p. 90.

¹⁶ Hoppen, p. 264.

¹⁷ *Miscellanea Curiosa* (Leipzig, 1670), pp. 65-75.

¹⁸ William R. Newman, *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, An American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994), pp. 20-50.

¹⁹ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner's, 1971). Thomas has shown that magic and religion in pre-reformation England were often indistinguishable; only when (Protestant) theology opposed these superstitions, were

rites helped allay the anxieties of people who believed themselves vulnerable to the forces of nature; most of these practices did not decline until after the seventeenth century. B. S. Capp's *English Almanacs (1500-1800)* demonstrates emphatically that astrology was nearly a universally popular science: one family in three purchased an almanac each year.²⁰ A. L. Rowse's biography of the astrologer Simon Forman reveals that a great many people from all walks of life went regularly to consult with their astrologer—merchants and shipmen desiring propitious times to set forth on ventures, lords and ladies, prominent churchmen and their wives, and all manner of commoners wishing assistance with their love lives (the effects of which were often registered in their physical condition, hence the connection between astrology and medicine).²¹ Natural magic was alive and well.

Yet even while empirical research involving alchemy was being conducted at Whitehall privately, the ground was being shifted intellectually that would marginalize such practices when the Royal Society, shortly after its inception, depicted its founding as the triumph of Baconian experimentalism over the ignorance of the past. Having come under attack since it posed a threat to the academic hegemony of the universities, the medical monopoly of the College of Physicians and even the church, the Society prepared the *History of the Royal Society* (running to 438 quarto-pages) to vindicate itself officially. Sprat all but conceded his rôle as propagandist when he wrote in the Advertisement to the Reader that “*the Detractors of so noble an Institution*” had required him to change his “*plain History*” into an “Apology.”²² Webster argues that Sprat erected the façade of Baconianism in the *History of the Royal Society* “to undermine crit-

such practices discouraged. See also Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991).

²⁰ B. S. Capp, *English Almanacs (1500-1800): Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1979). See also Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989).

²¹ A. L. Rowse, *Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age: Simon Forman the Astrologer* (New York: Scribner's, 1974).

²² Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1667), ed. Jackson I. Cope and Harold W. Jones (St. Louis: Washington UP, 1958), p. 53: he later allowed that “I never yet saw an Historian that was clear from all Affections.” At Wadham College, Oxford Sprat had been the protégé of John Wilkins, the Society's first secretary, and an associate of the Oxford *Experimental Philosophicall Clubbe*. Sprat was assisted by Wilkins and subject to the orders of the governing council; see Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology P, 1967), p. 11.

ics and convince the public of the Society's worthy aspirations" and to deflect attention from the parliamentary affiliations of its leaders, Wilkins and Wallis.²³ The ideological coloration of the portrait he drew of the young men, "invincibly arm'd against all the enchantments of *Enthusiasm*," is plain: such men of science, Sprat believed, would logically shy from questions of theology or "*Civil business*" and turn towards natural philosophy, a discipline "*that never separates us into mortal Factions; that gives us room to differ, without animosity; and permits us, to raise contrary imaginations upon it, without any danger of a Civil War.*"²⁴ Not surprisingly, Sprat gave scant treatment to the other groups meeting before the Restoration—notably the Comenians Theodore Haak and Hartlib as well as those at Gresham College; instead, Sprat assigned the leading role to the group led by Wilkins with which he associated while at Oxford.²⁵ The others were marginalized, even though Comenius celebrated its foundation as the fulfillment of his plan for a research *collegium*, and finally had his *Via Lucis* published, dedicated "To the Torch Bearers of this Enlightened Age, Members of the Royal Society of London" (1668).

Not only did Sprat's apologia enshrine the Oxford group as the official science establishment, it helped create the myth of Baconian triumph.²⁶ Later histories, such as Auguste Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830-1842), would celebrate western culture's emergence into the positivist age of science as the victory of reason over primitive superstition. Some still do. After William Whewell's

²³ Charles Webster, "The Origins of the Royal Society," *History of Science* 6 (1967):118-19. On the other hand, the demographic analysis of Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and Its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution* (Chalfont St. Giles, England: British Society for the History of Science, 1982), and Lotte Mulligan, "Civil War Politics, Religion, and the Royal Society," *Past and Present* 59 (1973):92-116, reveals the Royalist character of the majority of the fellows. On Sprat as propagandist, see also R. H. Syfret, "The Origins of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 5 (1947):75-137; and Michael Hunter, *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989).

²⁴ Sprat, pp. 53, 55-56.

²⁵ See, e.g., G. H. Turnbull, "Samuel Hartlib's Influence on the Early History of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 10 (1953): 101-30.

²⁶ See, e.g., Joseph Glanvill's paean to the Royal Society, *Plus Ultra* (London, 1668), p. 12: they "have refin'd [chemistry] from its dross, and made it honest, sober, and intelligible, an excellent Interpreter to Philosophy, and help to common Life. For they have laid aside the Chrysopoietick, the delusory Designs and vain Transmutations, the Rosie-crucian Vapours, Magical Charms, and superstitious Suggestions, and form'd it into an Instrument to know the depths and efficacies of Nature."

The Philosophy of Inductive Sciences Founded upon Their History (1847), however, Bacon's call for pure induction or a *posteriori* logic has been seen as little more than propaganda. The examples that Bacon drew from to illustrate his method in the *Novum organum* all require a more complex method of inference.²⁷ Even as philosophers of science assure us that methodological purity for the "new philosophy" was a chimera, historians are beginning to foreground the ideological uses to which science was put as it was being institutionalized.²⁸ As we have seen, the actual practices of the Royal Society and other celebrated societies of the seventeenth century did not measure up to the image subsequently created for them. Their fellows were not modern "scientists" pursuing objective descriptions of empirical data, nor were their historians mere compilers of factual records. By simplifying and imposing narrative structure on events, a history of science as it might have been, not as it was, was constructed. As Joseph Agassi has wryly remarked about Bacon's categories and much of the history of science, "once a person, historian or not, accepts a division of mankind into open-minded and closed-minded, he almost invariably finds himself on the right side."²⁹ Winners are always seen to be correct.

Yet the steps toward the institutionalization of science had been taken. For reasons that had less to do with science than politics, the Royal Society created its own originary tale and began to emphasize discoveries to improve material prosperity and commerce. The quest for the *great instauration* – that millenarian vision of the ad-

²⁷ Ernan McMullin, "Conceptions of Science in the Scientific Revolution" in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), p. 53.

²⁸ For work challenging the traditional inductivist histories predicated on a belief in science as the disinterested observations of fact using inductive logic with truth as the sole criterion of acceptance by the scientific community, see James R. Jacob, *Robert Boyle and the English Revolution: A Study in Social and Intellectual Change* (New York: Franklin, 1977) and "By an Orphean Charm': Science and the Two Cultures in Seventeenth-Century England" in *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of H. G. Koenigsberger*, ed. Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), pp. 231-49; Margaret C. Jacob, *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1988) and *The Newtonians and the English Revolution 1689-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1976); and Steven Shapin, "Social Uses of Science" in *The Ferment of Knowledge: Studies in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980), pp. 93-139.

²⁹ Joseph Agassi, "Towards an Historiography of Science," *History and Theory* 2 (1963):1. See also remarks on p. 16.

vancement of learning—was replaced with an “increasingly entrepreneurial notion of scientific practice.”³⁰ One eventual result as “public” knowledge displaced the tradition of secrets, was the marginalization of these private research *collegia* and the delegitimization of alchemy.³¹ In the 1650s a Thomas Henshaw could associate with a Thomas Vaughan to form a *Christian Learned Society* dedicated to acquiring knowledge by experiment, which effort could rightly be considered a part of the scientific mainstream. In the next generation, however, Newton, who began his studies at Cambridge in the same year that the Royal Society was founded, had to confine his abiding passion for alchemy to his private chambers, despite his obvious stature as the scientific luminary of his age. Historians have too often ignored his secret alchemy as an inconvenient aberration.³² But that is another story.

³⁰ Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London and Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 74.

³¹ See William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), pp. 319–50.

³² The work of Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs has made it difficult to ignore Newton's complexity. See *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy, or "The Hunting of the Greene Lyon"* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975); and *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

APPENDIX A

*LEGES SOCIETATIS EREUNETICÆ*¹

1. Since every society was founded for a purpose by virtue of its principles and laws, so this society has a chief law: the single aim of our college shall be to investigate truth according to method and experiment, then to deliberate on what is found; or to defend all arts and sciences supported by method and experiment from sophistry, to reduce to a demonstrative certainty, to propagate with the right instruction, and finally to increase the number of fruitful inventions.
2. Any fellow may take up some particular matter, suited to his talents and strengths; then, instructed sufficiently by the president, he may investigate with the optimal method (which the president vows to be the Protonoëtic); and then he shall offer his work as a contribution to the college so that in return he may enjoy the mutual labors of the rest of the fellows.
3. If any fellow has offered a new demonstration, observation or any not yet known invention to the college under the pledge of confidentiality, he retains his rights by law certainly to whatever is entered in the books or journals of the society and recorded by the registrar.
4. Whatever work has been finished in the first six months from the time in which a fellow convened with the president for cultivating, studying, or observing a matter, all that passes over to the right of the president.
5. Whatever he has worked on after [six months], even if the work shall have had the continuous guidance and correction of another fellow, it is thought by right to be his who directed it with his hand.
6. If a fellow has brought to order any work of another fellow by permission of the author, or extracted a summary for the use of the college, or made an index for it, or finished a calcula-

¹ The Latin text was edited by Martin Fogel, *Historia vite et mortis Joachimi Jungii*, 2nd. ed. (Strasbourg, 1658), pp. 24-27.

tion according to the model given him by another fellow, all that is ordered, extracted, and made is the author's and not the abbreviator's or calculator's. And let this assistance be not reckoned in place of the ordinary contribution, but let him have a plan for his official obligation to the college.

7. It shall be lawful for a fellow to give the rights of his work to another fellow, either in exchange or by whatever title it happens, and to ask that the registrar record in the index that he transferred the work from the one to the other with the consent of both, if what had been made is held by rights by the former.
8. If some work may have been another fellow's by right according to previously given laws, to no one of the remaining fellows (by the word fellow the president shall be understood at the same time in all laws) shall it be lawful to make this work known either directly or indirectly to anyone, even to a member of the college or one dismissed, removed or excluded from the college for any reason.
9. If a fellow has been instructed by another in the mathematical heuristic, and, under the pledge of confidentiality, has constructed some problems with the help of this heuristic, so it shall be permitted for him to make them known; provided that he not divulge the art itself, to whatever extent it is not known, or show analyses with examples of the heuristic placed before the eyes or with clear models, precepts, or prompts – that is, neither directly nor indirectly.
10. If a fellow has learned to reduce digressions to an apodictic certainty and to prove them incontrovertibly, he certainly has permission to inform others of the apodixes and proofs achieved through his industry; however, he must carefully conceal the rule of the reduction and proof.
11. If a fellow instructed by another shall have the method for schemes, static as well as spiritual, that is, the practical Phoronomic, he may certainly inform anyone he wishes about the schemes discovered by this method, but he must leave the method in good repair for its author.
12. If a fellow has demonstrably extended knowledge established from prior principles and proof and divulged it with the first part of this knowledge not yet divulged, which he accepted

from another and extended: while he divulges the added part by himself, it is thought that he at the same time has divulged the first part indirectly, because the later part uses prior principles and propositions as premises or assumptions.

13. If a fellow should reveal to anyone not admitted into this college an art or science, which was divulged secretly by its author and communicated free of all secrets under the pledge of confidentiality to the college, it is judged that he has violated the pledge given to the college.
14. If a fellow's work has passed over to the college either by the general or special law (the general by law four and five, the special by law seven), no one in the future has the power to reveal it except it pass over to him.
15. Whatever has been offered, proposed, handed over, explicated, disputed or demonstrated before the society, which the registrar has not entered into the catalogue of things not to be spoken of, regardless of the kind of art or knowledge, it shall be lawful to divulge or communicate it to others.
16. No fellow may speak derogatorily of the contribution of another. For merely ingenious work is not our purpose; industry is also required.
17. Because new fellows will join from time to time, those who already have finished their apprenticeships in the proto-noëtic method ought to relieve the burden of the president of training.
18. The registrar shall record the work in the order offered to the college under the pledge of confidentiality, check whether they are entered correctly into the journals of the society, and prepare every six months a catalogue with notations of date and the name of the author. Also he shall note in another record in a similar fashion the obligations tendered to the society, by which the equality of the burdens can be better served.
19. The treasurer or quaestor shall watch over the college's treasury and enter carefully into the account book those things spent from it by common consent for the common use of the college, e.g., for observations, experiments, machines, instruments, etc.

20. The president shall be free from dues. The remaining shall contribute as much and as often as it is thought fit through general agreement.
21. Whoever wishes to be accepted into this college shall promise that he will spend an entire year with the president at the same place, unless for grave reasons he has been specially released by the president. But if afterwards something may happen contrary to expectations, that draws the reluctant promisor from the president, he shall be held excused.
22. If anyone is regarded worthy of exclusion, would that this certainly never happen, so shall he be excluded by common consent of the remaining fellows.
23. These laws and regulations of the college shall not be heedlessly divulged to those who are outside of the college.

APPENDIX B

THE LAWS OF A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY¹

1. The foremost law is serving the glory of God through societies, in piety as well as in uprightness.
2. [The second] is the love of a neighbor, even to be prepared to die for him, for no other consideration than love of God.
3. Then to be watchful of one's conscience: *fear God, fear the Angels, fear thy neighbor, fear thyself.*
4. Let the magistracy be arranged without grudging under pain of sacrilege.
5. *Let the society consist of twelve in the first rank, then twenty-four seniors or elders, and let the latter be the eyes and ears of the former.*
6. *Let a master [Antistes also means "bishop"] preside as chief over these with a vicar, who should be one of the twelve.*
7. *Let these be chosen by the vote of all in a public election and all present.*
8. Let that twelve in number therefore be filled from that other twenty-four, and the twenty-four be filled by others from the inferior orders of brothers, in accordance with whoever seems to be worthy in Senatorial dignity, *not by age but by reason of one's gifts.*
9. *Votes in the election, even though not tampered with, ought to be regulated nonetheless by casting of lots as is customary in the ancient church.*
10. *Let those elected promise that they will be custodians of the decalogue, the apostolic church, and of the constitutions of the society.*
11. *In order that they may do this, let unrestricted power be conceded to those in all things, that they may admonish all without respect to persons, correct, seize, and emend, by reason of any exigent necessity, and let every other power be conceded to them, which seems to pertain for justly executing out this part of the office.*
12. *Let an almost similar power of admonishing, correcting, seizing be conceded to all brothers, and let them be commanded not to conceal defects, but to toil to endure offenses from their brothers in fear of the Lord from the pro-*

¹ The Latin text (SUL H 55.20.1a-5a) was edited by G. H. Turnbull, "Johann Valentin Andreaes *Societas Christiana*," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 74 (1955):170-75.

scription of Christ in Matthew 18 [21-22].

13. *Let a dissembler, when the fault of another, which he himself has not disclosed, should become known by another manner, be punished by the same penalty which is established for the transgression.*
14. *Let him, who despite warning shall have demonstrated bitterness and hatred for some reason, be punished doubly in regard to the fault, namely first for malice, then for the fault.*
15. This care looks chiefly at the Seniors, and thus these shall be always ready for every negotiation of all things at home or abroad and in their presence shall be vigilant not only in deed but in word.
16. *Let no one walk alone, nor let two juniors be together, but always let a senior be present with a junior.*
17. *Let juniors very rarely speak with women.*
18. Let useless sermons not be heard by anyone.
19. *Let all confederates of the Society promise, after sureties have been given and words drawn up, that they will be observant of our Magistracy.*
20. Let them undertake any duty designated by superiors, and not one taken up by a personal impulse.
21. Let each one provide for his own and not others, let him dress as a Spartan in what he has stumbled upon.
22. Therefore there shall be assiduous reading and meditation for all Brothers; the main work, however, shall be the scrutiny of nature.
23. Let them be so assiduous in these works that there may never be idle time.
24. Let them demonstrate before meals that they have aided the common good by some praiseworthy deed.
25. *Let every one bring together all things seen, heard, read, observed and held into common use by collation with others.*
26. Let all Juniors take a simple meals together, and let one or the other of the seniors attend at the main meal or luncheon.
27. Let one Paterfamilias from the seniors procure food, so that there may be rest from this labor for others.
28. Let a Materfamilias procure that which respects cleanliness of the body, and let the remaining women serve her.
29. *Let there be prayers and hymns before and after meals, and before and after sleep.*
30. When a date shall be fixed for public prayers either in the day

or night, let all convene for prayers and sacrifices [*holocausta*] of the heart in offering to God.

31. For the rest let all use very few words, and let them be neither Spartan nor Athenian [in style].
32. If anyone speaks at table, let his words be about God so that it produces useful things agreeably from the book of grace or of nature, and necessary things drawn from the occasion of meals, *which may be on the matter of nature, the temperaments, signa- tures, the astrum, etc.: let them speak first of physical matters—of wine, oil, wheat, and salt—and then let all things be accommodated theologi- cally.*
33. *At meals let all earnestly avoid immoderate use, ever the vehicle of Satan.*
34. *Let all be zealous of equality and concord, and there not be any vaunting about one's gifts.*
35. Let no one mingle in mundane matters; let each one provide for his own.
36. Let them not disturb neighboring polities.
37. Let them receive a patron with reverence.
38. *Let them be cautious with foreigners, and let them not disclose any secrets at all to anyone without the consent of the seniors.*
39. Let all letters therefore, both those to be sent and received, be read in the Council of the Seniors, and let it not be permitted for anyone especially a junior to give or accept letters to out- siders without consent.
40. Absent Brothers ought to be sent letters frequently, and those are bound to send letters to the Society in return frequently, in which they ought to consider and judge all things, which can be useful to the Society.
41. Let two of the associates, whose condition permits it, set forth to diverse regions, and in separate years let others go else- where, so that they may both observe and read, as well as hear and see everything in one place that may happen rightly among a well constituted people; and afterwards let them bring before P. C. [probably *Patres Conscriptos*, i.e., the Senate, here the Seniors] concerning these matters, so that if some- thing is useful to the Society, it may be received.
42. Let no one undertake the journey, but one judged suitable by the seniors in taking directions for travelling.
43. Let no one be received into the Community [*Civitatem*] unless

first examined with the greatest diligence.

44. *Let aspirants and novices newly admitted into the Community maintain the recommended Pythagorean silence and swift obedience to these laws who are bound by the seniors, and let them not be curious about the secret institutes and discoveries of the society, until the time when they have abundantly proven their faith and diligence.*
45. To a certain extent assiduity and silence cut off the occasion for luxuriating in the flesh, etc.
46. "Mine and thine" is reckoned among us with the name of exploit and of plunder, *and for that reason everyone contributes part of his own possessions to our community, which ought to be offered to the common money box right away.*
47. *Let one devote himself to the care of finances, to whom may be added a scribe, who should keep records of expenses and revenues, and these report every month or every three months to one of the seniors, to whose inspection fiscal matters will be subordinate.*
48. Let that money, moreover, and any remaining precious things, such as celebrated manuscripts etc., be guarded at the Master or director's house.
49. Those things to be provided from our neighbors for the use of our society ought to be provided by order of the Magistracy either by payment or exchange.
50. Let no one be permitted privately to be busy with trade or other profit of that kind for augmenting personal things.
51. What is yielded from agriculture, grazing, vineyards, or mechanical Arts, let that be preserved in common use in public storehouses or a locked treasury.
52. *Let matrimony be permitted and honorable among all who are destitute of the gift of continence, but those ought not to marry either for inciting the libido or impelling lechery of the flesh, but in the Lord. Because men before the flood were engaged lecherously in matrimony, for that reason God destroyed them. And today matrimony is no better among many than honest fornication: thus it ought to be heeded lest this abuse pervade us; and to this end it shall be permitted to a brother, who wishes to unite a spouse to himself, to choose one among the others, whom he chooses before others by a certain notable inclination of the soul; but nonetheless he shall be bound to look for the direction and consent of the elders: These shall wisely join proper persons from any temperament whatsoever at a proper time (though not unwilling ones) so that there be*

hope of noble off-spring to be born, which special reason ought to be here held.

53. Let them be joined in matrimony at once.
54. *Let the rituals of the nuptials be sought from sacred books and the examples of the Patriarchs and the Church.*
55. Let new born infants be nourished by the milk of the mother, or if it is impossible, by another matron.
56. Let a weaned infant be drawn from the flatteries of the mother, as soon as it has acquired language, and be subject to discipline, not a rigid one but rather congruent to age and sex.
57. *Care ought to be given that the youths learn together with the fundamentals of Christianity first Hebrew, then Greek and Latin, and other languages with these Oriental ones.*
58. In the education of children let women be present with the female sex, and men with the masculine, who are found most apt, who each will be able to educate them paternally and liberally without moroseness and to entice them to the love of justice with piety, gravity, sanctity, and prudence, and be able to lead by example and use their inclinations skillfully.
59. Let the Habit of the Brothers be convenient in nature, almost Oriental in nature, and let them use two vestments each, one for feast days, the other for official days.
60. Let foreigners be received kindly into the suburbs, and by a Senior deputed to it or by a Brother under the Senate's direction: no Juniors therefore shall associate with these, and neither shall it be permitted to introduce them into the Society or the city itself; and care ought to be given lest our laws and institutes be betrayed to anyone by an excessive easiness through imprudence, unless they shall promise, after sureties have been given, that they will either enter into them or they will offer a certain sum of money into our treasury. All Brothers, however, ought to be careful that their lives, by grace and example and not by quarrels, attract into the love of the Society both enemies and foreigners.
61. Let every kind of sectary and all quarrels and Disputations be absent.
62. *If controversies of religion are moved, let them be subjected to pious and fraternal disquisition in the Ecclesiastical Council, and let judgments be pronounced, not from the zeal of one part, but from the truth and glory of*

God, along with law and testimony, not so that the Spirit is suppressed and prophecies are scorned, but that all things are proved in fear of the Lord.

63. When a date shall be fixed for prayers at the temple, see article 30.
64. Let them handle sacred matters with the highest veneration of the soul.
65. The chief Master and the Deacon shall offer prayer² every other Sunday.
66. The same for the week, where the custom of the old church ought to be observed.
67. *Let them take the sacrament of the Eucharist frequently.*
68. *With no other ceremonies than those of the Apostolic Church.*
69. *Let there be confession of sins especially by the juniors according to the orders of the Catholic Church, so that all the sins of those who cultivate again its memory be recited, and let rather specific remedies be applied to particular sins detected, so that fear and punishment may deter those from the sin of humans, whom splendor does not call to his virtue.*
70. If there be a need for binding with a key, let the priest remember that he has a power handed down by Christ to the Church not so much for this as for loosing [cf. Matthew 18:21], and therefore let it be used prudently for these.
71. Let the Holy Bible or the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament be as the Lydian Rock [i.e., touchstone], and the unique norm of all our actions, the guide in all Political Controversies, *and let nothing be found within our laws or customs, whose express commission or clear trace and example does not exist in the life of Christ and the Apostles, so that it can thence be deduced from the times of the primitive Church.*

To thwart however the authority of Holy Christ, and to call in doubt divine oracles in some manner, and to question the proof of those principles, as human philosophy and serpentine cunning has delighted in, the certain judgment of atheism, thus before us and all good men deservedly incurs punishment as the highest sacrilege, etc.

By the saving judgment of Christians.

² I emend the text here to *conci[on]em*.

APPENDIX C

THE CAMBRIDGE *ESSENTIALS*¹

I had almost forgot y^c Academy. I will dictatte it to my scribe, by Reason I write wth pain, & my hand is scarce legible, yet so that y^{ou} May Read by it I am

S^r Y^r truely affect. freind
to sub[scribe]: y^r J. Hall.

Ap: 13 1647

S. Johns

Mention y^c Academy to None till y^{ou} hear further.

The designe was to bee carryed thus: y^c number was not to exceed 60 & every one at least a Gentleman of blood & coatarmour. if there were any supernumerary, they were to bee receauved in y^c quality of Probationers or Expectants, & upon y^c fayling of the other number to bee according to seniorities receauved in. now of these, there was to bee a President, who was only to be Annuall & next to him a Oratour, under these two a Secretary, Library=Keeper, & Master of the Ceremonies. The manner of Election was thus, y^c Candidates were by some friends to make known their desines. the friend was to give a true character of thim to y^c Essentials (for so are y^c 60 called) if any other did know him, hee was asked to speak, so each man having convenient time allowed, for y^c Enquiry after his parts & manners, was accordingly to receaue or reject him by a blacke or white Beane. & heere number was prevalent, after y^c election they were to give their names & Armes registered, & two blanke Pages left y^t if they should do any thing memorable & Serviceable, to y^c Politique or Literary Republickes, it might bee inserted. euery one was to allow what he pleased for y^c maintenance of y^c Academy, noe lesse then 4^{lb} a yeare, besides 20^s at their admission, & a Booke for y^c Library:

¹ This description detailing the Society of the Essentials, from John Hall's letter to Samuel Hartlib, 13 April 1647, from St. Johns [Cambridge], SUL H 60.14.31a-b, is in a scribe's hand, since Hall was injured and wished the copy to be fair. Hartlib had this copied as "A Short Model of Society" (SUL H 26.20.1a-b).

Ande if y^e Paim^t were discontinuede one halfe yeare he who failed was to bee displaced, & y^e eldest expectant receaue it. Now there was another degree called *Fautores*. these were gleaned up of Asses, such I meane as can only bring gold in to y^e commonwealth of Learning. these were discharged of Exercises, which were to bee as follows. Every one was to bring in at the yeares end, a Paper of Verses & some choise discourse as also those y^t were Poetically enclined, upon any occasion. those verses were to bee gatherd up, the choisest cull'd & printed under y^e name of y^e Academy, such as were disposed being allowed their names, & thus much for Lustre. now for matter of profit it was only this. euery weeke, two were publiquely to discourse before y^e President, those discourses to bee carefully reserved & registered, for y^e peculiar Use of y^e Society but none under y^e degree of an Essentiall to transcribe, & in processe of time, they intended to enlarge to Horsmanship, Fencing &c. Thus you haue it breifly & faithfully. I expect your opinion in your next, expect you also mine, w^{ch} not to forestall you I thinke is negative. you shall haue y^e reasons.

APPENDIX D

SKYTTE'S DESIGN FOR A *UNIVERSUM COLLEGIUM*¹

Whenever the many disciplines & arts, and extraordinary Matters, very worthy of use and even of reward, remain either utterly ruined, or never before discovered – or if they have been discovered, imperfect for the most part – it is especially for this reason, that no one fixed place has been assigned and equipped with worthy privileges, which would bind the arts and disciplines, and such matters now ruined, unknown, divided and imperfect, into one foundation, in which persons eminent beyond others by their study and love would be received into its midst, be given a country and home and even joined with others in studies and experiments. Wishing to extend a serviceable right hand to those working for this plan on this very day for the disciplines, arts and extraordinary matters and their studious participants and supporters, we therefore graciously give thanks to the Honor of the divine name, as the fountain of all most perfect disciplines and arts, for the said disciplines, arts, matters, and persons in the service and use of all human kind, howsoever we give for the activity of those present, domicile and palace – with buildings, houses, courts, promenades, gardens, preserves, pastures, fields, lands, waters, rivers, hunting, fishing, and with all other revenues and jurisdictions pertaining, which thus far it has, or is able to acquire by law and have, with the following conditions, privileges & laws.

1. We grant that all men skilled and devoted to the disciplines, arts & extraordinary matters, whatsoever their circumstances or nationality, may freely come to this place, where they might be able to engage in and continue the disciplines and arts, and extraordinary matters, alone or with others; to treat and work carefully upon their further preservation and augmentation, and with respect to use to confer with others on production;

¹ BL MS, Add. 6271, fol. 10^v-12^r. This copy, called the “Lord Skitts Designe towards practical Philosophy (the text was in Latin),” was made for John Worthington, based on a letter from John Beale to Hartlib, 14 January 1661.

to explore and even to form the natural from the scientific and artificial, and the scientific and artificial from the natural; to join the arts to a discipline, praxis to theory; and to distribute and bring forward every single matter to the highest grade of perfection, induced as much as can be, for the use and service of human kind.

2. If in fact they wish to be received thus into this place, let them convene before the directors of the same, constituted or to be constituted by us to this end; and to these let them give sufficient testimony and proof of some extraordinary discipline and art, for whose conduct they wish to maintain life respectably, and are admirably entitled to merit in the view of universal human kind and even of this place. If these aforementioned directors have approved, they will accept from them further obligation and trust, orally or in writing, that they desire to continue conformed to the decisions and statutes of this place, and they desire to surpass in zeal and example of good piety, honesty & modesty the others continuing with them there for the same purpose.
3. After all these have been thus admitted, we leave the time of the stay and departure from this place to the control and will of every one individually, and we desire that their arrival, stay and departure, respecting persons and things for each one, may be free from all tributes, tolls, and burdens, both ordinary and extraordinary.
4. To these same we grant the free sale, importation, use, and exportation of all things, which they need for sustenance and clothing, and also for their discipline and arts, and even for cultivating anything extraordinary whatsoever, and without any tolls or even tributes, outside or inside our Realms; so long as it is verified through the testimony of the Directors, that these matters regard, not other agents outside this place, but the same persons at this place.
5. Let there be no public exercise of religion other than according to the rites of the church of England; and to those who are of diverse religion and rites, let liberty of conscience be allowed; but let them abstain from public exercises & disputations, and from all other harmful devices for transfusing and propagating in others their opinions and customary rites.

6. To those who have discovered a discipline or some art useful to the public, we promise they will be given privileges conforming to the laws of the realm, with this condition, that the fourth part of the money fall to the treasury of this place. To those indeed who do not wish public privilege, it shall be permitted for them to conduct their studies and Arts and other matters completed, to sell or give to others & to distribute according to the personal desire of each one.
7. To those who desire to write about the disciplines & arts, or edit any works whatever, it shall be permitted; to this end we grant the use of a printing press for this place; the inspection of it, as also of the books and imprints there, will concern the said directors, whose care it shall be to hold back matters prohibited by our laws lest something is printed which offends piety.
8. If anyone, native or foreign, desires to come to this place for a longer or shorter period of time for the sake of visiting, learning, or speaking, let him do so freely, and let him enjoy those same privileges as the elders, provided that he act in accordance with the orders and statutes of this place during the entire time of his stay and prove the honesty of his intentions to the directors and the integrity of his observations.
9. All those aforementioned persons, with their families and things, even respecting household goods and chattels for everyone individually, we receive into our royal grace, favor and protection; and we desire that not only the domicile itself of this place retain the same rights and privileges which our royal domicile, court and palace hold or could hold in the future; but also the persons and goods of this college enjoy those same privileges and rights, which other courtiers and members of our household enjoy and use.
10. To the directors of this place, we grant the same jurisdiction to be exercised over persons and matters subject to this place, and included in it, as the great master of our court, other justices, and our courtiers exercise over our court and over the persons contained in them.

Apart from the fact that we reserve to ourselves the supreme administration and right to the universal college, and to persons and things contained therein, we wish moreover to create two directors and set them over the college, one from

our subjects furnished, the other from abroad, and both either experts or supportive of the disciplines and arts: The reckoning of whose duties and service will consist of the following:

1. To administer all business for the whole college and for all persons and things included in it with common counsel and aid, and to direct all for the common good of the college and the individuals.

2. To determine officials, ministers, and separate servants according to the diverse growth and use of this College and its size and revenue, and to prescribe duties and assign stipends for each.

3. To judge persons and things pertaining to the jurisdiction of this place according to the laws of the realm and our court and those contained in the remaining articles in this script, and to entrust judicial decisions to execution; to conserve the privileges, gifts, revenues, goods, buildings, treasures, and things belonging to the college, and as far as it depends on these things to increase and amplify them; to assign quarters for each and to make changes according to the various uses of the college; to buy designated books, pictures, sculptures, and rarer things by art or nature with the funds of the college, or to preserve things given by others for the use of the college; to seek out disciplines & arts, both unusual and more very useful, from different regions and buy them with revenues of the college; and to apply and transfer them for its own utility and increase; to solicit and receive voluntary donations from within or outside of our realm, to buy or contract for the goods of the earth for them, to busy themselves with commerce, to look for and increase the goods, donations, and revenues of the college using all legitimate means with their arts & disciplines; to obtain and supply, for persons endowed in discipline or art and destitute of the means for developing them, subsidies and stipends from the treasury of this place, to whatever extent its accounts permitted and the advantage of the college urged; and to do all this above in piety for God, trust in the kings and realm of Great Britain, charity unto our neighbors, and even to be present with all those living in the college for the same purpose and lead the way by authority, counsel and example.

We commission therefore each and every one of our faithful and official subjects etc., to hold their trust and obedience to this our royal will, and leave the said college & persons, and their things in quiet possession and use of the privileges and rights conceded to them by this document, and observe and aid each one by reason of duty.

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<i>Altdorf</i>	=	<i>Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf</i> . Edited by Elias von Steinmeyer. 2 vols. Würzburg: Stürtz, 1912.
<i>BL MS</i>	=	British Library Manuscript.
<i>Cambridge</i>	=	<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses: Part I, from the Earliest Times to 1751</i> . Edited by John Venn and J. A. Venn. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1922-1927.
<i>Danzig</i>	=	<i>Catalogus Discipulorum Gymnasii Gedanensis 1580-1814</i> . Edited by Zbigniew Nowak and Przemysław Szafran. Warsaw and Posnan, 1974.
<i>Erfurt</i>	=	<i>Acten der Erfurter Universität</i> . Edited by J. C. Hermann Weissenborn. Halle, 1881-1899.
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<i>Groningen</i>	=	<i>Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae</i> . Edited by the Historisch Genootschap te Groningen. Groningen: Wolters, 1915.
<i>Hamburg</i>	=	<i>Die Matrikel des Akademischen Gymnasiums in Hamburg 1613-1883</i> . Edited by C. H. Wilhelm Sillem. Hamburg, 1891.
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